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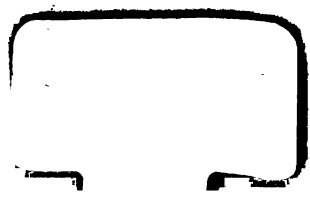
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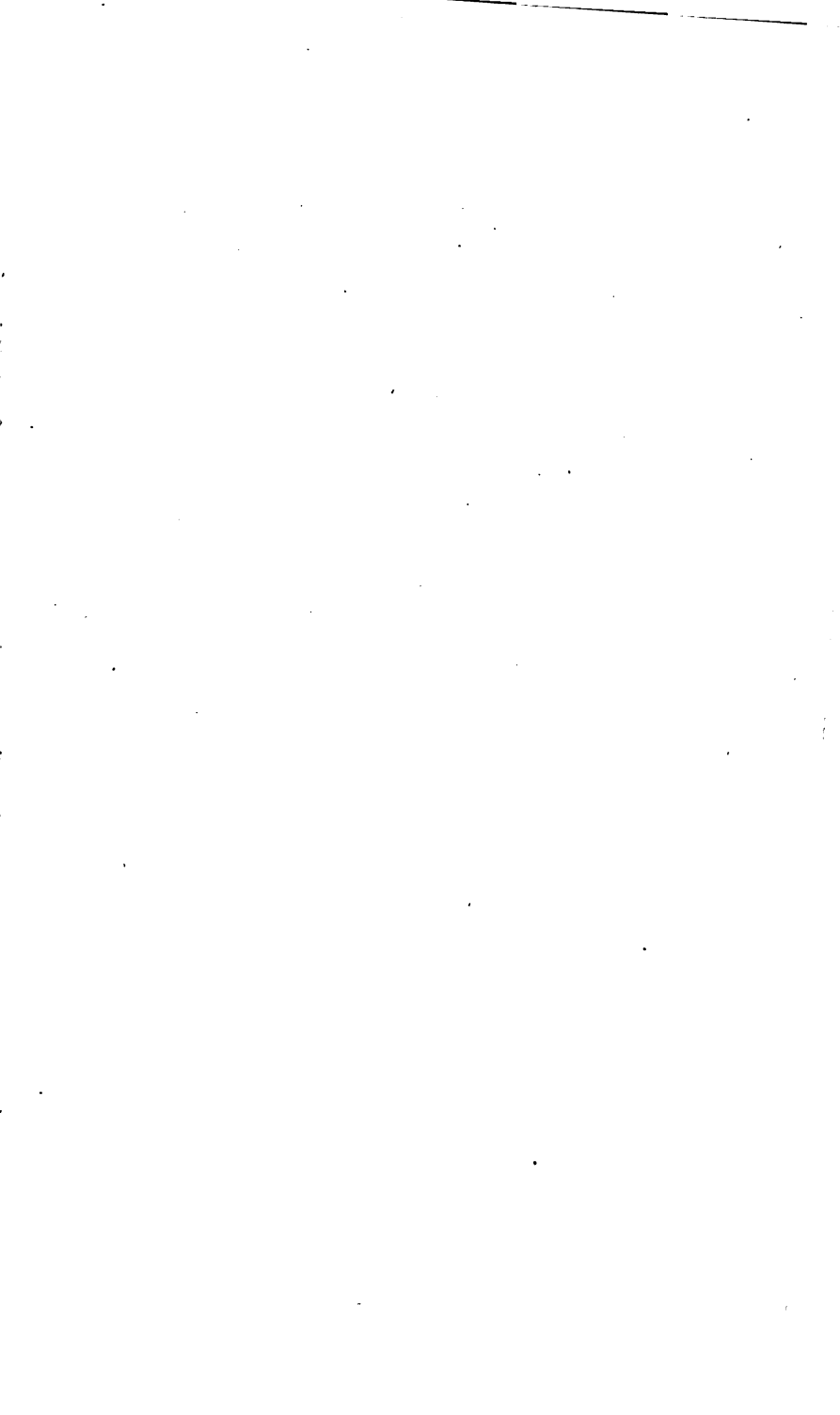


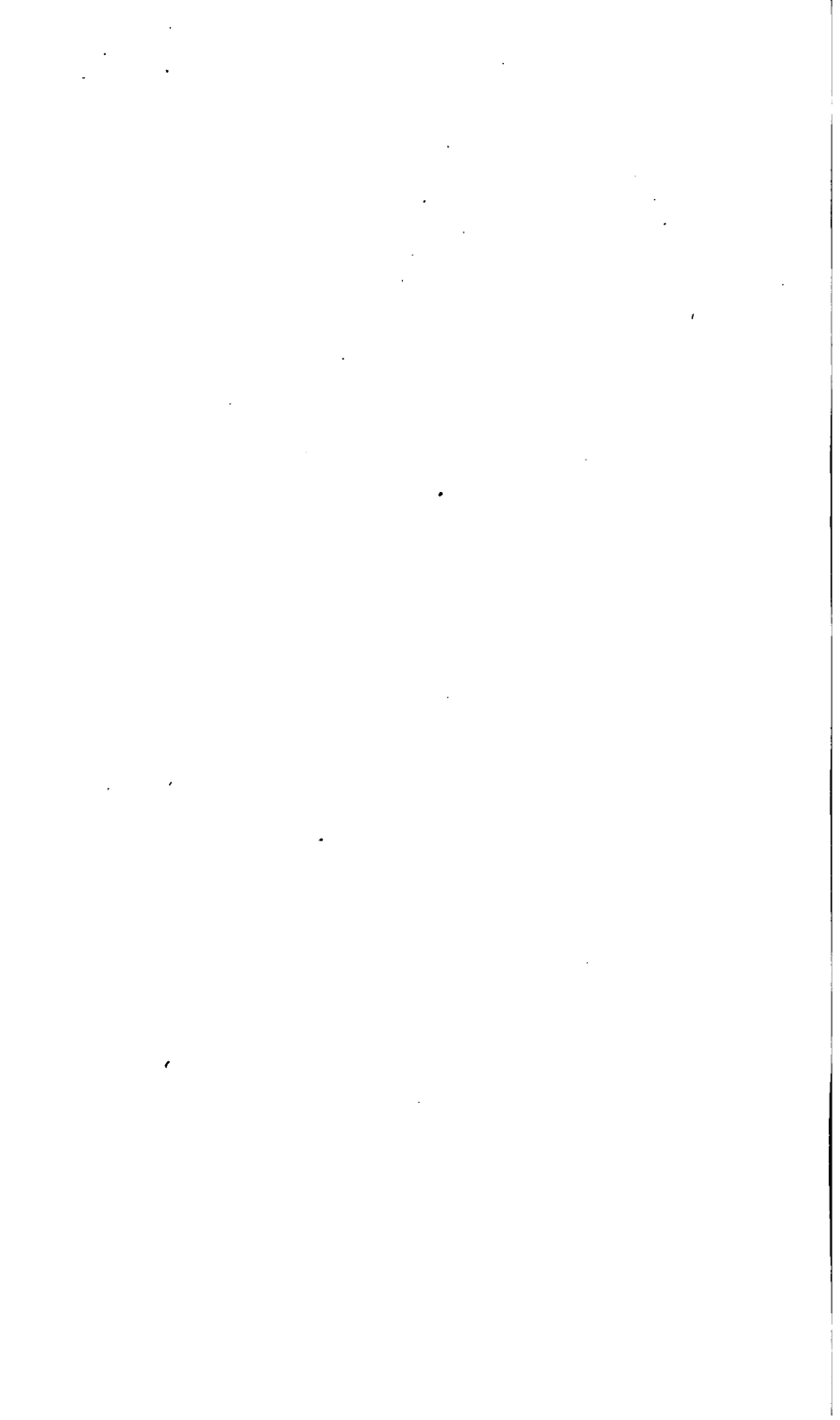
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of

Oberborough.

BY THE REV. RICHARD RAUTHMEL.

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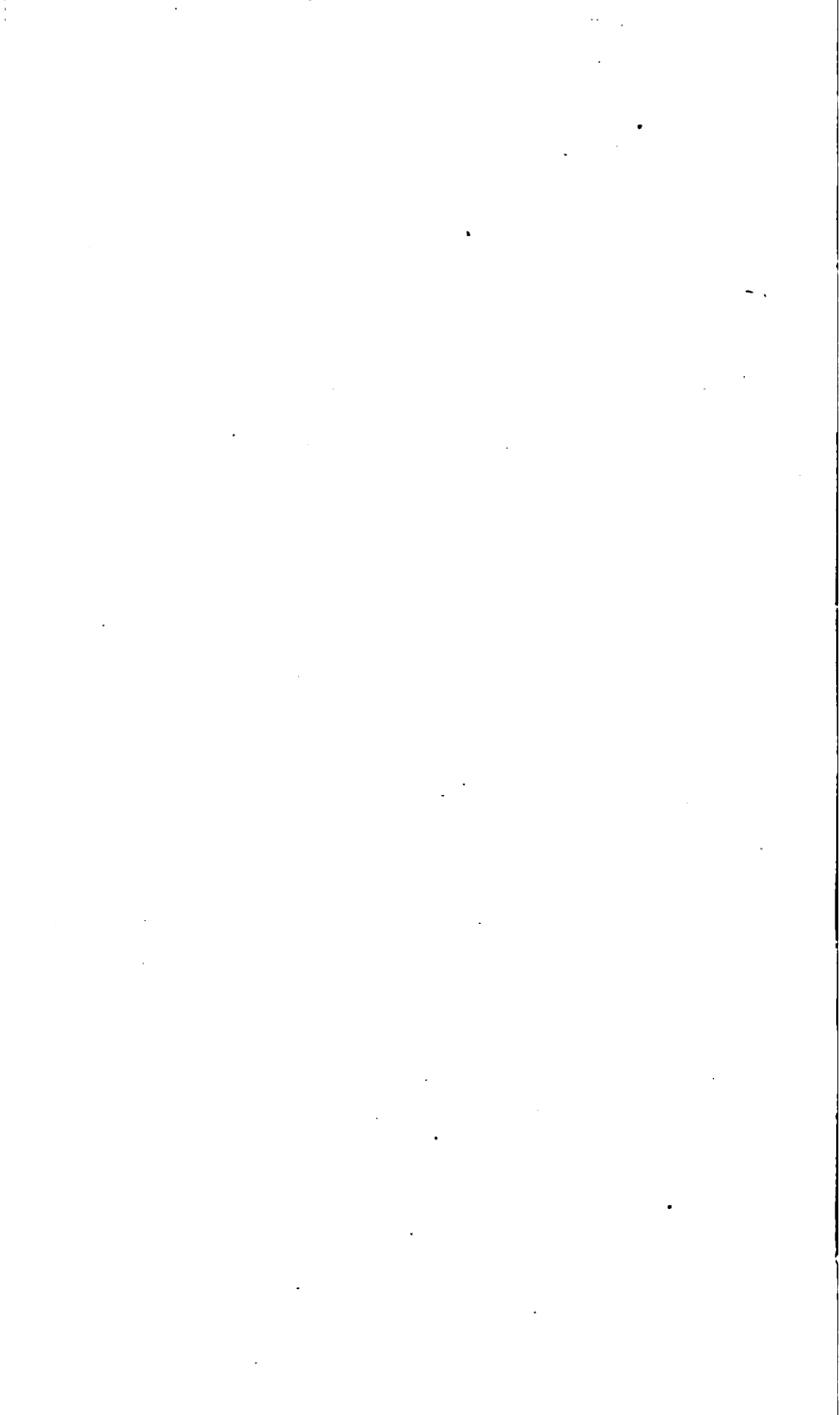
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THE PUBLISHER.

July 1st, 1824.



CONTENTS.

- CHAP. I.—*Sure tokens of Roman antiquity at Overborough, page 1.*
- CHAP. II.—*What antiquarians have recorded concerning Overborough, page 3.*
- CHAP. III.—*Overborough is proved the Bremetonacæ of Antoninus, page 10.*
- CHAP. IV.—*An account of the military way which runs from Coccium or Ribchester to Bremetonacæ or Overborough; which way hath hitherto been undiscovered by our antiquarians, page 19.*
- CHAP. V.—*The year when, and the Roman general who, erected the station of Bremetonacæ at Overborough, collected out of Tacitus, page 25.*
- CHAP. VI.—*The derivation of the word Bremetonacæ, page 64.*
- CHAP. VII.—*The form and plan of Bremetonacæ, whilst in possession of a Roman garrison, page 69.*
- CHAP. VIII.—*In which of the two provinces of Severus, or in which of the five provinces of Valentinian, stood Bremetonacæ; and who were the great Magistrates and Officers that fortress was subject to, page 74.*
- CHAP. IX.—*Observations upon the eight garrisons fixed between Severus's wall and Overborough, in order to illustrate the duty and business belonging to the garrison called defensores at Overborough, page 79.*
- CHAP. X.—*What were the business and duty peculiar to the garrison called defensores at Overborough, page 89.*
- CHAP. XI.—*To what legion did the defensores of Overborough belong, and what might their number be.*
- CHAP. XII.—*Concerning the idol Mogon, tutelar deity of the Britons of Overborough, page 96.*
- CHAP. XIII.—*A description of the altar of Mogon lately discovered at Overborough, page 102.*

- CHAP. XIV.—*Description of the bulla aurea found in the fortress of Overborough, page 106.*
- CHAP. XV.—*Account of a patera and præfericulum found by digging within the fortress, page 108.*
- CHAP. XVI.—*An account of a Pliny's Druidis insigne found by the military way leading to Overborough, page 109.*
- CHAP. XVII.—*An account of a Stylus, Graphium, or copper writing pen, taken out of an urn by the military way leading to Bremetonacæ, page 114.*
- CHAP. XVIII.—*A medal of Flavius Vespasian, by which I endeavour to prove the date of the antiquity of Bremetonacæ, page 117.*

APPENDIX.

- Dr. Whitaker's account of Overborough, page 121.*
- The Roman road in the neighbourhood of Bremetonacæ, page 133.*
- Notice of Mr. Rauthmel, page 138.*

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
OVERBOROUGH.

CHAP. I.

SURE TOKENS OF ROMAN ANTIQUITY AT
OVERBOROUGH.

To a man curious and inquisitive after the Roman Antiquities in Britain, in whatsoever town, village, or plot of ground he meets with ancient monuments, the first thing necessary, is to recover the name of that place whilst it was in the possession of the Romans; otherwise, should he read any remarkable occurrence transacted at that place, and mentioned by a Roman author, if he is quite ignorant of the old name, he is never the wiser.

We read in Antoninus's 10th *iter* through Britain, that the rout which the legions were to take through Britain along the military way was from Galacum to Bremetonacæ, from Bremetonacæ to Coccium, thence to Mancunium,

and so on. For all this we must remain ignorant of these stations, and this military way along which the Roman legions used to march, till we discover what modern towns or places each of these Roman names respectively belong to.

Overborough, being famous upon record for once abounding with Roman monuments, I propose the subject of my present enquiry. These monuments were tessellated pavements, inscriptions upon stones, old medals, and a fortress situated at the confluence of two rivers; such a situation as this was always chose by the Roman generals to fix their *Castella* or *Castra Hiberna* near. All these are undoubted evidences, that the village of Overborough was once possessed and inhabited by the Romans.

When I have recovered the Roman name that once belonged to Overborough, I shall also enquire, in what year, and what Roman general first erected a Roman Station at Overborough; and who fortified it also with a garrison; what was the duty peculiar to the soldiers of that garrison; with other enquiries proper to illustrate the antiquities of Overborough; and lastly, I shall give a description of as many Roman monuments as have been dug up or discovered there lately.

CHAP. II.

WHAT ANTIQUARIANS HAVE RECORDED CONCERNING
OVERBOROUGH.

The most judicious and learned antiquaries, who have treated of the monuments of the Romans in Britain, and particularly of the stations erected by that glorious people in our isle, are Camden, Gale and Horsley. The success of these three Authors in this kind of knowledge hath been proportionate to their great pains and industry.

The famous Camden, as I collect from the history of his life, was at Overborough a little after April in the year 1582, to examine the Roman antiquities of that village. The account which Mr. Camden has left of this station, I shall transcribe out of his *Britannia*, as translated by Bishop Gibson, and published 1695, in the following words. “As soon as the Lune enters Lancashire, the Lac, a little river, joins it from the East. Here at present stands Overborough, a small country village; but that it was formerly a great city, taking up a large plot of ground between the Lac and the Lune, and was forced to surrender by the utmost misery of a siege and famine, I learned from the

inhabitants, who have it by a tradition handed down from their ancestors: the place itself shews its own antiquity by many old monuments, as inscriptions upon stones, chequered pavements, and Roman coins; as also by this its modern name, which signifies a burrow; that is, a Roman fortress. If ever it recover its ancient name, it must be owing to others, and not to me, though I have sought it with all the diligence I could. And indeed, one is not to imagine, the particular name of every place in Britain is to be found in Ptolemy, Antoninus, the *Notitia*, and in classic Authors. If a man might have the liberty of a conjecture, I must confess I should take it to be Bremetonacum, upon the account of its distance from Cœcium."

Thus far Camden. Dr. Gale is the next antiquarian I shall produce, who mentions Overborough. The Doctor observes, "that besides the name Burrow, which signifies an old Roman *castrum* or fortification, Roman medals, inscriptions upon stones, tessellated pavements, fix a station at that village, which stands near a great hill. The name of this hill is Ingleborough, which is a Saxon compound word, and signifies the same thing in Saxon as Bremetonacæ, the name of Overborough's station, signifies in the British language." Thus far Gale.

Mr. Horsley is the next antiquary I shall produce, who takes notice of Overborough. This learned clergyman is lately dead: what he writes concerning Overborough's antiquity, I shall deliver out of his *Britannia Romana*, page 454. "The evidences (says he) of Overborough's being a Roman station, mentioned by Dr. Gale, are very strong; besides the name, Roman coins, stones and tessellated pavements fix a station here. Camden also observes, 'that besides the tradition of the inhabitants concerning an old city which stood near it, the place makes proof of its own antiquity by many ancient monuments, inscriptions upon stones, chequered pavements, and Roman coins, as also by this name. Burrow.'" Thus far Horsley. This is the sum which these three authors have recorded concerning Overborough. But I cannot collect from Mr. Horsley's book, that ever that clergyman was personally present at this station to examine it; for what he says concerning Overborough, is only translated from Camden and Gale. Nay, I am almost sure Horsley was never there; because he has omitted inserting a curious altar into his *Britannia Romana*, which altar was fixed in an old building by Overborough, but is now in my posses-

sion, and which I shall describe afterwards.

Neither does it appear from Dr. Gale's observations, that the Doctor was ever personally to view and examine what monuments remained at Overborough. What Gale says seems mostly to be translated from Camden. Hence I conclude, that neither these two, nor any other antiquarian, as far as I can find, has made it his business to examine into the antiquities of Overborough, by being personally on the place, since Camden's time, and what has been observed about it since, is generally transcribed from him. The famous Camden was the first who discovered Overborough to be a Roman station ; and after this discovery he tells us, he used all the diligence he could, to trace out the Roman name, but could not do it at last to his own satisfaction. Before I leave Camden, I cannot help remarking upon one particular, which very much surprises me. He tells us, that Overborough shews its own antiquity, by many old monuments and inscriptions upon stones : now I have calculated from the history of Camden's life, that about last April it was just 156 years since Camden was at Overborough. At that time all the Roman inscriptions were to be seen ; the ruins of the barracks or

houses of the Roman garrisons were not taken away, and levelled with the ground; yet, though these inscriptions were then to be viewed; and, as Camden tells us, were many: what surprises me, is, this antiquary has not left upon record any one single inscription upon any one stone or altar he saw there. This omission or neglect is not according to Camden's usual custom at other Roman stations, where he has transcribed into his *Britannia* such inscriptions as he met with in his travels through Britain; which inscriptions are now in Camden's *Britannia*, though the stones and altars that contained them are lost, at least several of them. If Camden had acquainted us with these inscriptions he saw at Overborough, and said they were many, but are now all destroyed; we might thence probably have collected, what Roman legion or cohort built this station. We might have learned, what emperors had lodged at Overborough in the fortress, by having votive altars erected to them, and their names inscribed on them; for above a dozen Roman emperors have been in Britain. We might have learned from inscriptions upon altars, what gods the Romans worshipped there, and who amongst the British idols was the tutelar god of the Britons at Overbo-

rough ; so that by learning the name of the idol, we might discover, who, was the local deity among the gods of the Britons ; that is, who was the British god of Overborough : though by good fortune I have recovered an altar, whose inscription informs us what British idol was the god of the Britons at Overborough. All these particulars are to be collected from inscriptions upon stones at the Roman stations ; whereas our histories are quite silent relating to these things, and the tutelar deities of several places in Britain have had names discovered by Mr. Horsley's curious observations upon inscriptions of altars erected to these local deities, and found at those places, where these local deities presided ; by which means only we arrive at the names and knowledge of those idols worshipped by the old Britons ; which we can arrive at no other way, nor by any history now extant.

I shall now enquire into the reason, why Camden did not insert the inscriptions of Overborough into his *Britannia*, as he did the inscriptions of other stations. There goes a tradition, and whether this tradition be confirmed by Camden's Remains, Letters, &c. I cannot tell ; to wit, when Camden travelled through Britain in search of antiquities, to compile his *Britannia*,

Sir Robert Cotton went along with him as a companion in the same studies and travels. These two gentlemen went to Carlisle, examining all along the antiquities of the north. Thus much I collect from Camden's life, prefixed to his *Britannia*. Besides this, it is related somewhere of these two gentlemen, that they procured those stones, altars, &c. which contained inscriptions, wherever they could meet with them, especially if they contained matter proper to illustrate the history of the old Britons or Romans. These stones they sent away by shipping to London. This must certainly be so, because at Conington near Stilton, the seat of the famous Sir Robert Cotton, are the Northumberland altars and inscriptions to be seen at this day. But as the story goes, these two gentlemen loading some boats with those kind of stones, these vessels, to the great grief of all British antiquaries, and the irretrievable loss of British antiquities, were lost at sea, and this precious treasure buried in the deep.

Now it appears, that the Northumberland stones got safe to shore, because several of them are at Conington, Sir Robert Cotton's seat, and to be viewed at this day. May it not then be thought probable, that the antiquities of

Overborough might be among the antiquities of other stations which were lost at sea. What favours this supposition, is this, Camden has transcribed several inscriptions belonging to the station of Ribchester, which is the next station to that of Overborough; when at the same time, he has not transcribed any one inscription of all those he saw at Overborough, and says they were many, which in all likelihood he would have transcribed into his *Britannia*, if they had arrived safe at shore. This account furnishes us with a reason, why none of the many monuments which Camden saw at Overborough, are mentioned in his *Britannia*; the first edition whereof he printed *anno* 1586, about four years after he had been at Overborough.

CHAP. III.

OVERBOROUGH PROVED THE BREMETONACE OF ANTONINUS.

I have observed already from the quotation out of Camden, that this antiquary only conjectured, and with diffidence too, that Overborough might be the Bremetonacæ of Antoninus; but at the same time Camden says, that

if ever that village recover its ancient name, it must owe it to others, and not to him; though he had sought it with all the diligence he could. However, all antiquarians since his time have taken for granted, what was only a doubtful surmise of Camden's, without examining any further into this matter. Though Mr. Camden seems to leave this task as a legacy to the antiquarians, which none as yet have accepted of. It is therefore incumbent upon me, to make good the title of my subject, to bring such reasons and observations of my own, as are sufficient to prove Overborough to be the Bremetonacæ of the Romans, and of Antoninus; and so reduce that to a certainty, which was only a doubtful conjecture of Camden's.

1. Bremetonacæ must stand south, or southwest from Galacum, because Antoninus's 10th *iter* runs from Glanoventa, now Lanchester, in the county of Durham, to Mediolanum, now Drayton, in the county of Salop; that is, this *iter* is from north to south.

2. Bremetonacæ is fixed by Antoninus in his 10th journey through Britain, at a distance of twenty-seven Roman miles from Galacum.

3. Bremetonacæ must be twenty Roman miles from Coccium, for Antoninus makes the

distance between Bremetonacæ and Coccium just so many miles.

4. Bremetonacæ must be fixed north and by east of Coccium, as it is south and by west of Galacum.

5. Bremetonacæ must have military ways running from it according to all Antoninus's stations, one to Galacum, the next station on the north, the other to Coccium, the next station towards the south.

6. Bremetonacæ must stand line in line, or near it, between Galacum and Coccium, because we find the military way from Coccium runs directly towards Galacum; and wherever Bremetonacæ stood, it must be on this military way.

7. Bremetonacæ must stand at the confluence of two rivers, because all stations in the north have such a situation.

8. Bremetonacæ must have a fortress, or an oblong square fortification rampired with a stone wall.

9. Bremetonacæ must produce Roman monuments for its antiquity, because wherever it stood, the Romans inhabited it at least by intervals above three hundred and fifty years, even till they abandoned this isle, which I shall prove afterwards.

Wherever we can discover any plot of ground, which has these properties, that plot of ground claims an indisputable title to the Bremetonacæ of Antoninus. Let us now examine how these nine properties tally with Overborough.

1. Bremetonacæ is fixed at twenty-seven Roman miles distance from Galacum by Antoninus; but where's Galacum? Galacum must be fixed on a certain foundation as to its position, otherwise I am entangled at my first setting out; for I must have an approved situation for Galacum, to fix one point of my compass upon, before I can fairly prove the situation of Bremetonacæ. I prove Galacum to be Apulby, for these following reasons; 1. Because Antoninus, who is to be my guide, places Galacum nineteen Italian miles from Alone. Now all antiquarians agree that Alone is Whitley Castle in Cumberland, the rampart of which fortress is standing to this day, and Apulby is just nineteen Italian miles from Whitley Castle. 2. Galacum must be Apulby, because that town has Roman antiquities, and stands upon the military way running south from Whitley Castle, which agrees with Antoninus's account exactly. 3. Galacum must be Apulby, because it agrees to the distance of miles in Antoninus, which

suit with Overborough ; that is, twenty-seven Italian miles, or between twenty-two and twenty-three English miles. Hence these two stations prove one another from Antoninus, who puts down Galacum and Bremetonacæ, just at such a distance as agrees with Apulby and Overborough.

2. Bremetonacæ must stand south of Galacum ; Overborough doth so, for it stands south of Apulby : which answers Antoninus's position of these two stations.

3. Bremetonacæ must be twenty Roman miles from Coccium ; now Coccium is agreed by all antiquarians to be Ribchester ; and, upon the nearest calculation I can make I find Overborough, if we go along the military way, to be just twenty Roman miles, according to Antoninus, that is, about eighteen English miles from Ribchester.

4. Bremetonacæ must stand north and by east of Coccium, as it is south and by west of Galacum ; Overborough has exactly this situation between Apulby and Ribchester.

5. Bremetonacæ must have two military ways running from it, according to all Antoninus's stations, one way to Galacum, the next station north ; the other to Coccium, the next station

south. To this I answer, that I have traced out a military way from Ribchester town into Yorkshire, running on the north side of Slaidburn through Crossa Greet, then on the north side of Tatham Chapel through Bentham to Overborough. This very military way from Ribchester to Overborough, and their distance in miles, agreeing to Antoninus's, are such sure arguments to prove Overborough to be the Bretonacæ of Antoninus; that, were all other arguments wanting, these would be sufficient.

6. Bretonacæ must stand in a line, or near it, between Galacum and Coccium, because the military way from Coccium runs directly towards Galacum, and Bretonacæ must stand somewhere on this military way. To this I answer, that I lay a thread on the map, one end at Apulby, and the other at Ribchester, and this thread runs almost cross the fortress at Overborough.

7. Bretonacæ must stand at the confluence of two rivers, because the Roman generals in Britain always pitched upon such a situation to erect their stations on. Overborough is fixed exactly so; it has a most pleasant situation at the confluence of two rivers. The river Lac washes the south side of the fortress, and the river Lune the west.

8. *Bremetonacæ* must have an oblong square fortification or fortress, rampired with a stone wall. To this I answer, that the delineation of the fortress at Overborough on the east and south sides is visible to this day ; the rest is destroyed by the improvements of the place.

9. *Bremetonacæ* must produce Roman monuments of its antiquity, because the Romans inhabited that station at least by intervals for the space of three hundred and fifty years, even till they abandoned this island. In answer to this, Camden is an authentic witness, that Overborough was famous in his time for Roman monuments.

Thus I have sufficiently proved Overborough to have these nine essential properties belonging to *Bremetonacæ* ; consequently the title of that village to the *Bremetonacæ* of Antoninus is indisputable.

That no objection may stand in the way to what I have been advancing ; for I can recollect none except the tessellated pavement found some years ago near Gargrave ; I will set this objection in as fair a light as it will admit of, and then remove it.

A few years ago the plough discovered a fine tessellated pavement, somewhere in the neigh-

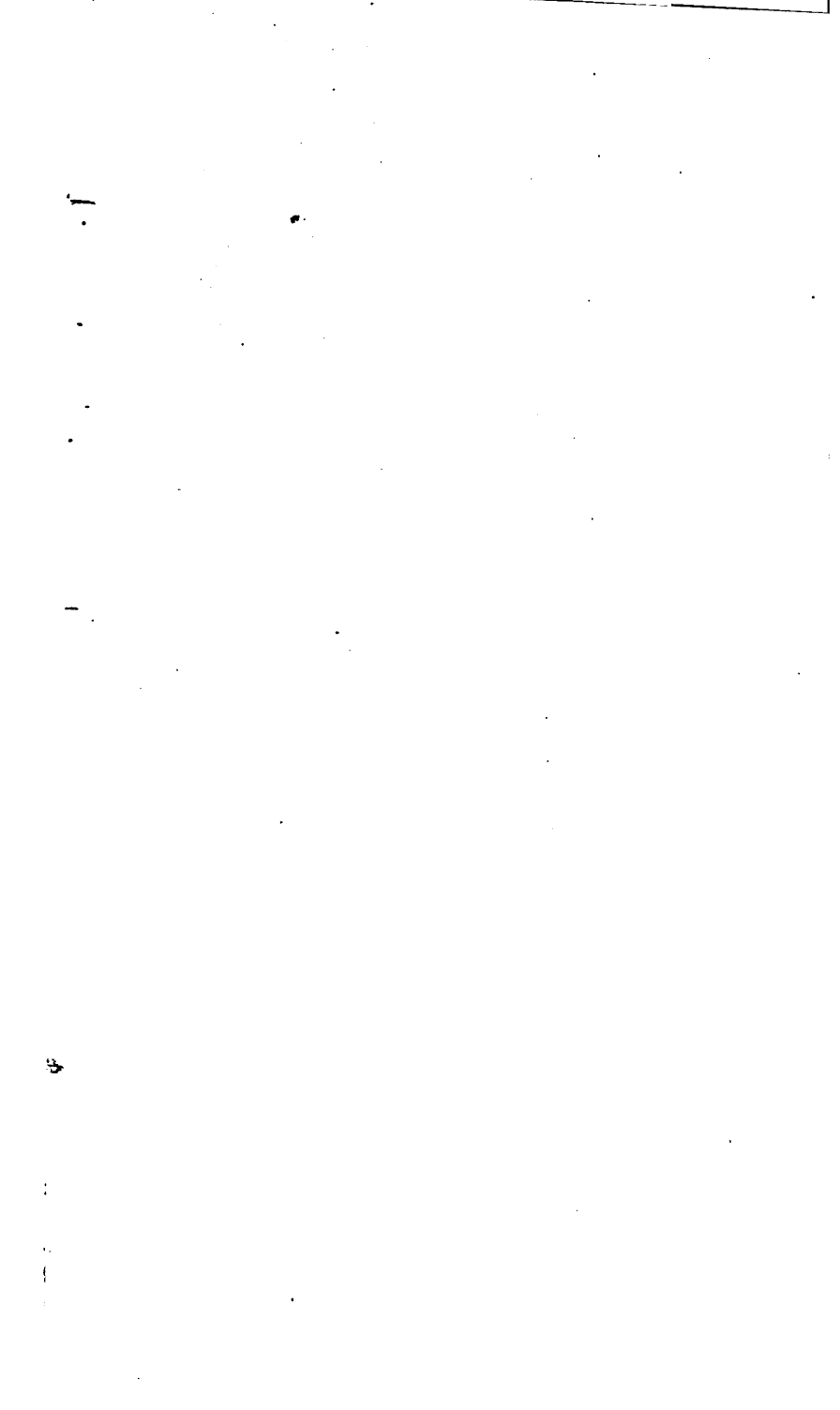
bourhood of Gargrave. The distance of this pavement from Ribchester answers very well to the distance between Coccium and Bremetonacæ; why then must not this pavement fix Bremetonacæ in that plot of ground, where the pavement was found?

To this I answer, that the tessellated pavement proves, that the Romans have been there; and I design to shew from this tessellated pavement, that Julius Agricola fixed a summer's camp on that plot of ground, when that Roman general conquered Craven. But then I assert, that there are often found such pavements, where the Romans never fixed a settlement.

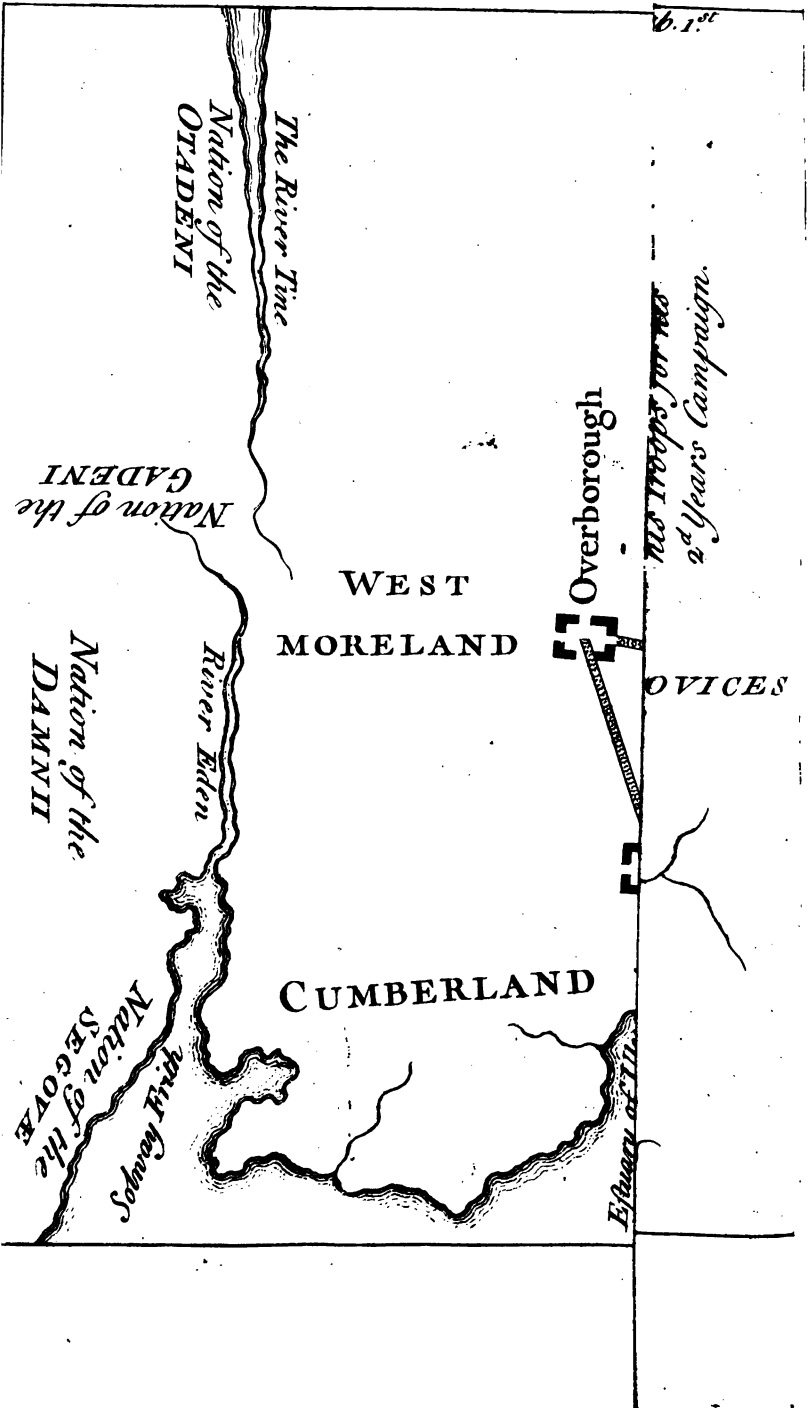
There were three sorts of camps among the Romans. 1. *Castrum*. 2. *Castrum Æstivum*. 3. *Castrum Hibernum*, or *Castellum*, i. e. a fixed fortress. The first was nothing but a marching camp, where the legions lodged all night only. The second was such a camp as that near Gargrave, where the legions fixed for several days or weeks in a summer's campaign. Here was a regular camp fixed, and in the general's tent, which was called the *prætorium*, was a pavillion, or room of audience, which was paved with little square cubes or tiles of various and beautiful colours, (those which I have are pur-

ple.) If it happened that the general and his legions were called suddenly away upon any emergent occasion, these tessellated pavements were left; which, after they were grown over with grass, and buried by length of time, were in after ages discovered by the plough. These beautiful pavements Julius Cæsar always carried with him in his summer's campaign, to pave his pavillion withal, as Suetonius informs us: so did succeeding generals, in imitation of the great Cæsar's delicacy. But then these pavements prove no settlements of the Romans where they are found, only they point out a place where a camp has been. And since this plot of ground has not one of these properties belonging to old Bremetonacæ, besides its distance from Ribchester, and the chequered pavement; it can have no manner of pretence to that station in Antoninus.

To conclude: from all the foregoing proofs and particulars put together, I hope I have made it sufficiently appear, that the situation of Antoninus's Bremetonacæ was at Overborough, upon the fertile banks of the river Lune, the beautiful and pleasant seat of Robert Fenwick, Esq. counsellor at law, and, as most worthy, representative in parliament for the corporation of Lancaster.



6.1st



The River Tine
Nation of the
OTADENI

Nation of the
GADENI

WEST
MORELAND

Overborough

no troops for me
17th Years Campaign.

OVICES

River Eden
Nation of the
DAMNII

CUMBERLAND

17th Years Campaigns
Nation of the
SEGOVAE

Estuary of the River

CHAP. IV.

CONCERNING THE MILITARY WAY BETWEEN OVERBOROUGH AND RIBCHESTER, WHICH HATH HITHERTO BEEN UNDISCOVERED BY THE ANTIQUARIANS.

The want of the discovery of this military way, running from Overborough to Ribchester, has sufficiently perplexed the antiquarians; this military way being part of the military way of Antoninus's 10th *iter* through Britain, which was from Glanoventa, now Lanchester, in the county of Durham, to Mediolanum, now Drayton, on the edge of the county of Salop: and this 10th *iter* running through Brenetonacæ the length of 150 miles from beginning to end, all the length of this military way is found out by the antiquarians, except that part of it which runs from Apulby to Overborough, and thence to Ribchester.

Mr. Horsley seems to despair, that this part of the military way should ever be recovered; hear what he says in the 454th and 455th pages of his *Britannia*.

“As for the military way between Apulby and Overborough, and from thence to Ribchester in Lancashire, I can get no certain intelli-

gence of it. I am afraid we have no remains, that are sure and considerable, to guide us here. Every body supposes a military way, but nobody traces it out." Then a little after Mr. Horsley tells us, "he knew not the measure or computation of miles between Overborough and Ribchester." And as for the military way between these two stations, he gives it up for lost; and then concludes, we must still be content to be in the dark about it. This military way, which no antiquarian yet ever found out, and which Mr. Horsley despaired of ever finding, I shall now describe, having been sufficiently acquainted with it for several years.

This Roman way begins at the fortress of Ribchester, and runs north over Long Ridge Fell, and discovers itself by being green, when the rest of Long Ridge is heathy and morassy on both sides the way; upon which account the inhabitants call this way the Green Lane. As soon as this military way reacheth the north summit of Long Ridge, it makes a right angle, and runs on to the north side of the hill towards the east; and after some length it turns by degrees to the north, and then points directly towards Overborough. This military way enters Yorkshire a little below Dowford Bridge, and pro-

ceeds in a direct line on the north side of Newton and Slaitburn through Crossa Greet. It is very apparent on the north side of Tatham Chapel. It runs through Bentham towards Overborough, but the improved country short of Overborough had eradicated the remains of it.

Above 300 yards in length of this military way, as soon as it enters Yorkshire, was made improved land some years ago. The first time it was plowed, a causeway of seven yards broad was uncovered. I was present on the place, and an eye-witness, so had an opportunity of observing in what manner the wise Romans made their public roads. The ground on both sides these 300 yards is soft and morassy, whereas the military way running through it is even, dry, and firm unto this day. The method which I observed the Romans took to cure this morassy ground, where they laid their way, was by laying a deep bed of large pebbly gravel seven yards broad, and upon this gravel they paved with large broad flat stones; but few or any small and round ones, such as we use now-a-days for paving causeways. This I observed as remarkable; and the reason, I imagine, why no round small boulder stones were used by them, was, that the cavalry, of which the Romans had

great numbers in the conquest of Britain, might travel with more safety and expedition, and these small round stones are apt to be trod in by degrees to such soft morassy grounds. Besides this, I observe also another property, which distinguishes a Roman military way from our modern ones. These military ways lie higher than our modern ways do, in case they be paved. The Roman legions were at great pains and labour in making these military ways through Britain ; and I have seen it observed, that these Roman ways abound with fine gravel in some places, when no such gravel can now be found any where in the neighbourhood like it. It appears from a passage in Tacitus's life of Julius Agricola, chap. 31. that the Romans made use of the Britains, to carry the stones and gravel, when these Roman highways were made. Galgacus the Caledonian general, just before that famous battle he fought with Julius Agricola in Scotland, tells his soldiers the Britons, what they must expect, if they suffered themselves to be subdued by the Romans, nothing but to have their hands and bodies worn and consumed by carrying stones to pave the bogs ; while the Roman soldiers stood over them, and gave directions with a thousand stripes and indignities.

What is further remarkable concerning these military ways, is, that the Romans used to bury their dead by these highways, but never in their towns. Hence we learn the reason, why their epitaphs began so often with *siste viator*; the epitaph being addressed to the traveller along the highway. Sometimes these Roman *tumuli*, barrows, or burying places, were at some distance from these military ways, a mile or more, as I have observed; however we may lay it down for a general rule, that wherever we discover a Roman *tumulus* at some little distance, upon examination, we shall always find a Roman way. Near the military way from Ribchester to Overborough, I have discovered some Roman *tumuli*. In one of these the stones being removed, I found three urns, two large ones and a little one, which urns, as I imagined, contained the funeral ashes of husband, wife and child. All these three urns contained ashes, and one little urn held ashes, and very little bones. Out of one of these urns I took two copper skewers full six inches long, and twisted all the length. These for a long time I supposed to be the tongues of two Roman *fibulae*, being like some of those in Montfaucon's cuts, till accidentally reading a little

treatise of Sir John Clerk's, upon the *stylus* or *graphium*; that is, the writing pen of the ancients, so often mentioned by classic authors; these copper instruments of mine tallied so much with Sir John's descriptions, that I have concluded mine to be the *stylus*, *graphium*, or writing pen of the Romans. I shall give a description of this of mine taken out of the urn afterwards.

At some distance from these three urns, and at a farther distance from the same military way, between Overborough and Ribchester, some years ago was found a copper urn, containing above 600 medals, all silver, and consequently Roman *denarii*. Several of these I have in my collection of medals. This urn abounded most with the coins of Alexander Severus and Gordianus Pius. The former of these emperors began to reign *anno* 222, and Gordian about the year 238. This emperor Gordian has several stone inscriptions erected to him in Britain, he being the darling of the legions. The medals of this urn of youngest date, that I have seen, are Otocilla, empress of Philip; and if a conjecture may be indulged concerning the time when these medals were hid, I should pitch upon the reign of Probus, about the year 277, when that emperor had great wars in Britain, (for proba-

bly they were hid in the war time) one Bonosus a Briton, setting up for Roman emperor, who after much bloodshed was subdued by Victorinus, general to the emperor Probus. And thus much concerning the military way between Overborough and Ribchester.

These military ways are the surest guides to trace out all Antoninus's stations by, because there are no stations in Antoninus, but those which stand upon military ways: so that catch hold of a military way, and pursue it; and depend upon it, it will lead and conduct one, like Ariadne's clue, to some station mentioned by Antoninus.

CHAP. V.

THE YEAR WHEN, AND THE ROMAN GENERAL WHO,
ERECTED THE STATION OF BREMETONACE,
COLLECTED OUT OF TACITUS.

No author within the compass of my reading, among the moderns, has ever yet acquainted us with the name of the Roman general, who conquered Lancashire, and reduced this country to the Roman empire. No antiquarian has yet told us, who that Roman was, who erected any one

of the four stations in Lancashire. I hope therefore it will not be imputed to me as time ill spent, or labour ill bestowed, if I attempt this difficult task; and if upon trial I fall short in my proofs, I still flatter myself I shall merit pardon, while I am endeavouring to bring honour to mine own country, the western Brigantes; by attempting to prove who that Roman general was, who instructed and initiated the western Brigantes, the first people of all the Britons, in the dress, language, arts and accomplishments of the Romans. In order therefore to bring to light this dark part of the history of our country, I propose to do these four things.

First, to prove from Tacitus, that Julius Agricola, who was proprætor in Britain under Flavius Vespasian the emperor, was commander of the legions here, and was the person who subdued Lancashire, with the rest of the western Brigantes, and reduced them to the Roman empire.

Secondly, I shall prove from the same historian, that the utmost extent of Agricola's conquest, in the same year that he conquered Lancashire, was from about the river Deva south to Solway Frith and the rivers of Eden and Tyne north, where he ended the campaign of this

year. Then from the military way I shall also prove, that the breadth of Agricola's conquests this year to the east, was no further than about Skipton and Westmorland. So that the whole of Agricola's conquests this year was Craven in Yorkshire, Westmorland, Lancashire and Cumber-land.

Thirdly, I shall prove from the express words of Tacitus, that Julius Agricola erected stations in Lancashire; and they must be these four, Bre-metonacæ (Overborough,) Mancunium (Manchester,) Longovicus (Lancaster,) Coccium (Ribchester;) which four stations I shall prove to be erected by Julius Agricola, the same year in which he conquered Lancashire.

Fourthly, I shall prove out of Tacitus, that Agricola spent a whole winter among the western Brigantes, whom he had conquered the summer before, instructing those people in the dress, language, arts and accomplishments of the Romans.

First I am to prove, that Julius Agricola conquered Lancashire.

In the 18th Chap. of Agricola's life, Tacitus acquaints us, that Agricola coming into Britain, to take upon him the command of the legions here, he goes into the country of the Ordovices,

where the legions were. The Ordovices had just then destroyed almost a whole wing of the Roman horse. Agricola assembles his troops, falls upon the Ordovices, and destroyed almost all the whole nation of them. By the Ordovices are meant the inhabitants of North Wales.

After this Tacitus acquaints us, that Agricola invaded the isle of Mona. By Mona in Tacitus is meant the isle of Anglesea. This is plain, because Tacitus expressly observes, that Agricola went out of the country of the Ordovices into the isle of Mona without ships; and therefore Agricola ordered all the soldiers that could swim, to swim over to Mona. So the Mona of Tacitus is the isle of Anglesea, as the Mona of Julius Cæsar and Ptolemy is the Isle of Man. Hence I collect from Tacitus, that all the conquests of Agricola's first year's proprætorship in Britain was reducing the Ordovices, and the inhabitants of the isle of Anglesea, to the obedience of the empire. Agricola being an excellent Proprætor, spent all the winter after in regulating the licentiousness of the legions, who hitherto had been very tyrannical over the Britons, and in redressing the grievances and oppressions that the Britons laboured under; by which actions Julius Agricola made himself very acceptable to

the Britons. This same winter, being the first of Agricola's proprætorship or government over Britain, the legions had their winter quarters among the Ordovices, as may be collected from Tacitus.

Thus much for Julius Agricola's first years' government over Britain.

In the beginning of the second year Tacitus acquaints us in the 20th Chap. of Agricola's life, that this general assembled the legions when warm weather came. Now it is plain from the foregoing account, that the Roman legions must have had their winter quarters among the Ordovices, which people Agricola had subdued the year before. But where dwelt the Ordovices? Camden derives the word Ordovices from two British Words, **Oar-Devi**, which signify those that dwelt about the river Deva. And Tacitus putting a Latin termination to these two British words, thence came the name *Oar-Devi-ces*, that is Ordovices. Now we all know where the river Deva is, for it retains part of the name to this day, and runs by Chester. Hence I collect, that Agricola assembled his legions somewhere among the Ordovices, or inhabitants about the river Deva, or North Wales. All the antiquarians agree in

this, that the Ordovices inhabited North Wales, and about Deva river.

Now comes on the difficulty, to trace out which way Agricola marched in quest of new adventures, when he and his legions left North Wales. It is certain, Agricola and his legions did not confine themselves within the dominions of the Ordovices this year, because according to Tacitus all the Ordovices were subdued last year, and the Silures, or South Wales, had been subdued to the empire some time before this by two former proprætors, Ostorius and Cerealis. Agricola did not march to the south-east, when he left the Ordovices, because all Britain from the south bounds to the river Deva, was subject at this time to the Roman empire; which may be collected from the Roman historians, or from Tacitus in particular. Well then, suppose Agricola marched north-east amongst the eastern Brigantes, i. e. the east parts of Yorkshire: this he need not do, because I can prove from the express words of Tacitus, that the eastern Brigantes were already subdued and reduced to the obedience of the Roman empire by the former proprætor Petilus Cerealis. *Terrorem statim intulit Petilus Cerealis, Brigantum civitatem, quæ numerosissima*

totius provinciæ perhibetur, ingressus, magnamque partem victoria amplexus aut bello.

And what part of the Brigantes this was, which Cerealis had subdued, Tacitus lets us understand by *civitas numerosissima*, which was not York, but the Isurium of Ptolemy, which Isurium is now the present Aldborough, 12 miles north-west of York. This Isurium of Ptolemy was the capital city of the Brigantes, according to the opinion of antiquarians, from the Roman monuments apparent at this day; so that we may justly calculate Aldborough was the *civitas numerosissima* of Tacitus, the largest and most populous of all the Brigantes.

In short, which way, to bring this enquiry to an issue, did Agricola advance in pursuit of new adventures, when he and his legions marched out of the dominions of the Ordovices?

Let us attend nicely to the account of Tacitus, from which it is plain, that Julius Agricola and his legions marched into the north of Britain; for as that historian tells us of Agricola's assembling the legions in the 20th Chap. so the same historian lets us know in the 22nd Chap. following, that Agricola was arrived in Scotland as far as Edinburgh Frith. Well, but still Agricola might march from the dominions of

the Ordovices, and from about the river Deva into Scotland, and yet never set hostile foot in Lancashire. Let us still stick close to Tacitus, and try what we can pick out of that historian, to prove that Julius Agricola at this very time invaded, entered and subdued Lancashire, with the rest of the western Brigantes; which account of Agricola I prove in the following manner. The very first exploit, which Tacitus, in the 26th Chap. acquaints us with, that Agricola performed, after that general had left the river Deva, was *Æstuaria et silvas prætentare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; et ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare*. These very words contain the history of Julius Agricola's conquest of Lancashire, which I explain and interpret after the following manner. That Agricola marching from about the river Deva towards Scotland, the first exploit he performed according to Tacitus was, to attempt in person the estuaries, and to make sudden incursions upon the inhabitants between the estuaries, and give them not a moment's respite, &c.

Now I ask, what estuaries were there in Agricola's march to Scotland, besides the estuaries

of Lancashire? Lancashire is so remarkable for estuaries, that not any other county in Britain can produce so many, and so large ones.

The estuaries of Lancashire are the estuary of Mersey, the estuary of Ribble, the estuary of Lune, and the two most remarkable ones of Cartmel and Ulverston Sands. But to make myself intelligible, what I mean by an estuary, and what Tacitus too must mean by the same word: so far as the tides run up the foot of a river, so far that part of the river is to be called an estuary. For instance, the sea-tides flow up the river Ribble as high as Walton, all the river from Walton to the sea is what I call an estuary. If Tacitus had designed, by endeavouring to deliver himself in the most express terms, to acquaint posterity, that Julius Agricola subdued the inhabitants of Lancashire; what words could that historian have pitched upon more proper than these? *Æstuaria prætentare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur*; that is, Julius Agricola marching towards Scotland, when he left the river Deva, he first in person attempted the estuaries; he and his legions swam over the river Mersey, as they had the year before swam over into the Isle of Anglesea, and sub-

dued it; so says Tacitus. And this year Agricola and his soldiers must swim over some place of the river Mersey, which Tacitus means by *Æstuaria prætentare*: and as soon as Agricola and his legions were got amongst the inhabitants between the estuaries; Tacitus goes on with, *et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur*; that is Agricola allowed not a moment's quiet or respite to the inhabitants between these estuaries, but wasted and spoiled them with sudden inroads and incursions amongst them. These must be the inhabitants who lived between the estuaries of Mersey and Ribble, as also the inhabitants between the estuaries of Ribble and Lune, and of Cartmel and Ulverston Sands. For it is plain, Tacitus must mean, by the enemies who inhabited between estuaries, the natives of Lancashire. The coast of Cumberland has not one that can be called an estuary, besides Solway Frith, which divides part of England from Scotland. And I shall prove in another place, that Agricola did not march over Solway Frith the same year in which he conquered Lancashire.

To confirm the foregoing account I observe further, that Julius Agricola made the estuaries

of Lancashire remarkable by his subduing the inhabitants between them; because Ptolemy the Greek geographer, gives names to two of these estuaries of Lancashire; the estuary of Ribble, according to Camden, Ptolemy calls Bellisama; and the estuary of Cartmel and Ulverston Sands, Ptolemy calls Moricambe. I desire to know, which way Ptolemy could get any knowledge of the estuaries of Lancashire, except he learned it from the Romans, particularly from Tacitus: nay, it appears certain, that Ptolemy must have his intelligence from Tacitus, or some other Roman; because Ptolemy, a little after he has given names to two estuaries of Lancashire, expressly mentions the 20th legion being at Devani, i. e. Chester, which legion served under Agricola at this time, and therefore was called *Legio Juliana*. Ptolemy and Tacitus were contemporaries. Tacitus wrote the life of Julius Agricola in the reign of Trajan, as Sir Henry Savile avers in his notes upon Tacitus; and Ptolemy wrote his geography in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius; so that Ptolemy must have his account of Lancashire most probably from Tacitus, and Tacitus must have his account from his father-in-law Julius Agricola: for

Tacitus says, he married Julius Agricola's daughter, just before that general was appointed by the emperor Flavius Vespasian proprætor of Britain. So that Tacitus had a fine opportunity of getting intelligence from his father-in-law, of what were the particular exploits of each year's campaign of Julius Agricola, whilst he made war upon the Britons.

To what I have been advancing, and endeavouring to prove; namely, that Julius Agricola, when he left the OrdoVICES, and marched towards Scotland, conquered Lancashire; it may be objected, that all this amounts to no more, than that Julius Agricola marched along the sea-coasts of Lancashire, and though he, according to Tacitus, conquered the inhabitants between the estuaries all along to Scotland; yet this proves not that Agricola subdued the eastern parts of Lancashire. But this I can prove easily enough from Tacitus also, for that historian says Agricola invaded the woods as well as the estuaries. Now by the woods I understand the inland and eastern parts of Lancashire, which undoubtedly abounded with woods in the time of Agricola. But if this will not be allowed to prove Agricola's invasion and conquest of the eastern parts of Lancashire;

Agricola's erecting fortresses, according to the express words of Tacitus, and these fortresses being found at this day situated in the eastern and inland parts, are a most convincing proof of his conquest of the whole County, and this I shall prove afterwards.

Whilst I am talking of the sea coasts of Lancashire, I must not let one particular pass unobserved. Ptolemy mentions *Σεταντιων λιμνη*, Portus Setantiorum, the haven of the Setantii: Ptolemy places this between the estuary of Moricambe north, and the estuary of Bellisama south. According to this position of Ptolemy this sea-port town of the old Britons must stand somewhere in the Fylde country. If Agricola had made use of ships in his conquest of Lancashire, then probably Tacitus would have mentioned this sea-port town; but it is plain, Agricola had no ships, when he invaded Anglesea last year; for according to that historian he wanted ships then, which obliged the soldiers to swim over. So this year, when that general invaded Lancashire, we read of no ships that he had; and the first time Tacitus mentions ships after this is, when Agricola was got into Scotland; there we read of a navy of ships, which Agricola had in Edinburgh Frith, which sailing

round Britain, Agricola was the first Roman, that discovered Britain to be an island. But to resume my main subject, I conclude this head with observing, that all the foregoing particulars put together amount to a convincing proof, that Julius Agricola, as soon as he left the Ordovices, invaded the inhabitants of the estuaries in the progress of his conquests towards Scotland, and the inhabitants of or between the estuaries were the native Britons of Lancashire; and consequently Julius Agricola reduced Lancashire to the Roman empire in the second year of his proprætorship over Britain; which answers, according to Dionysius the chronologer, to the year of our Lord 79, Flavius Vespasian and Titus Vespasian being consuls.

I come now, secondly, to prove from Tacitus, that the utmost extent of Agricola's conquests towards the north this year was no further than Solway Frith on the west; neither did Agricola march over the Eden and Tyne this year; so that I am to prove, that Agricola conquered no other people this summer's campaign, besides the western Brigantes; which I hope to prove out of the same historian. The reason why I am so particular in adjusting the bounds of Agricola's conquests over the western Brigantes

this year, is because Agricola conferred great honours and advantages upon the countries and people which he conquered this year, in which he conquered Lancashire. So I think it very necessary, to collect from circumstances, what were all the countries Agricola conquered this year. Now all the countries Agricola conquered in his second year's campaign were Craven in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmorland, which four countries I call by the name of the western Brigantes; and that Agricola conquered these four countries, and very little if any besides, I shall prove by and by; when I have fixed the bounds and limits of the whole dominions of the Brigantes.

Ptolemy, in the 11th book and third chapter of his geography, fixes the limits of the dominions of the Brigantes, according to the best exposition of that author, after this manner. The Brigantes are bounded on the north side by the two rivers Vedra and Ituna. By the river Vedra is to be understood Tyne, and by Ituna is meant the river Eden and Solway Frith; and Ptolemy says expressly that the Brigantes' dominions reach from sea to sea. The limits of the Brigantes on the south Ptolemy fixes thus, according to those who have explained him, the

river Abus on the south-east ; by Abus we must understand Humber ; and on the south-west Ptolemy makes the Brigantes and Ordovices to join upon one another. By this rule the Brigantes reach as far as the river Deva ; and Dr. Gale endeavours to prove, that Chester belonged to the Brigantes ; because of an altar found in that city, which was inscribed and dedicated to the goddess Brigantia. According to these limits of the dominions of the Brigantes, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmorland, Cumberland ; all these five counties made up the dominions of the Brigantes. So that the Brigantes possessed the largest dominions of any people in all Britain in the time of the Romans. The limits of the Brigantes being thus determined, I am now to prove, that Agricola made no conquests this year, besides those over the western Brigantes ; that is, Craven in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland ; which I prove from the words of Tacitus in the 22nd chapter of Agricola's life ; *Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus.* Which words I interpret thus, it was in Agricola's third year's campaign, in which he discovered new nations, by laying countries waste as far as Edinburgh Frith.

The river Taus or Tay running into Edinburgh Frith bears that name. I have already observed, that the year in which he subdued Lancashire was the second year of his command in Britain. From this quotation of Tacitus it appears, that Agricola discovered new nations, by laying countries waste as far as Edinburgh Frith, in the third year of his command. Now I argue thus: if Agricola discovered not these new nations till his third year's campaign; then it follows he conquered no further than either the river Eden and Solway Frith on the west, or the river Tyne on the east, in his second year's campaign. For if that general had marched over the river Eden, which bounds the western Brigantes, and made conquests beyond it, then he must have discovered the *Selgovæ*, i. e. the inhabitants of Nithisdale and Annandale, divided from the Brigantes by the river Eden. If Agricola had advanced over the river Eden more to the east, in his second year's campaign, and made conquests, he must have discovered the nation of the *Otadeni*, or inhabitants of Northumberland, (see the map of Agricola's second year's conquest at the end.) But according to the express words of Tacitus, Agricola did not discover these nations till his third year.

And if Agricola did not discover these nations till then, it naturally follows, that the utmost extent of Agricola's conquests towards the north in the year in which he conquered Lancashire, was no further than the dominions of the western Brigantes; that is, from the river Deva to the rivers Eden and Tyne, which includes Cumberland, in Agricola's second year's conquest over the western Brigantes. View the map, at the end. For if Agricola had conquered any people this year, besides the western Brigantes, and advanced as far as Edinburgh Frith, then he must have discovered several nations, as the Gadeni, or the inhabitants of Nithisdale; the Otadeni, or the inhabitants of Northumberland between Tyne and Tweed; the Damnii, inhabitants of Clidsdale, Twcedale, and Tiviotdale. All these nations lay between the Brigantes and Edinburgh Frith, which Frith Tacitus says Agricola did not approach till his third year; which is a sufficient proof, that Agricola conquered no other nation, in his second year's campaign in Britain, besides the western Brigantes. For Tacitus says, Agricola conquered new nations, which were not discovered till his third year's campaign; that is, the historian means, Agricola advanced beyond the western

Brigantes in his third year ; for Agricola was the first of all the Romans, that invaded Scotland. The Romans till Agricola's time knew nothing of Scotland, which is the reason, why Tacitus say, Agricola discovered new nations in his third year. Which account of Tacitus sufficiently proves, that Agricola made no new conquests, in the year that he conquered Lancashire and Cumberland, beyond Solway Frith, and the rivers Eden and Tyne, which bound the dominions of the Brigantes ; which is the thing I promised to prove.

Having already proved from the words of Tacitus, how far Agricola conquered towards the north in his second year's campaign, I shall now attempt to shew, how far Agricola conquered towards the east of Lancashire and Cumberland the same year. The reason why I am so particular in this, is what I mentioned before ; namely, the honour done by Julius Agricola to the people whom he conquered this year ; therefore I ought to shew, who they were, upon whom Agricola conferred the honours and advantages, which I shall mention afterwards ; and these people were none else, but the western Brigantes. I can collect nothing from Tacitus in express words, to prove how far

Agricola conquered towards the east ; but then I can prove this from the grand military way, which Agricola laid this year amongst the western Brigantes, and from the grand military way that Petilius Cerealis laid amongst the eastern Brigantes. I have already observed from Tacitus, that Petilius Cerealis conquered the eastern Brigantes. Now the military way of Petilius Cerealis runs from York to Aldborough. If therefore every Roman general made his military way run through the middle of his conquests, then the grand military way of Petilius Cerealis must run through the middle of his conquests also. This military way runs through York northward ; then we must take as much breadth of that country to the west of York, as it lies to the east of it ; and between York and Scarborough is about 30 miles space. Take about 30 miles to the west of York, and it brings us to about the east edge of Craven : thus far I reckon for Cerealis's conquest. Now let us examine the grand military way, that Agricola laid through the western Brigantes, and we find that Agricola's grand military way is laid through Ribchester north ; if then Agricola's grand military way is laid through the middle of his conquests, then we must measure as much

to the east of Ribchester, as lies west of it. And betwixt Ribchester and the western sea is 18 or 20 miles in length ; take this length of miles, and run them to the east of Ribchester ; and they will reach to about Skipton ; where Cerealis's conquests ended on the west, and Agricola's conquests too terminate on the east. How patly this calculation tallies, when we take our account from the two grand military ways of the Romans running north ; the eastern way laid by the proprætor, Cerealis, and the western by Julius Agricola. This calculation proves, that Agricola conquered Craven in the same year that he conquered the western Brigantes. But what puts this matter beyond all dispute, the grand military way, which belongs to Agricola's stations, is laid through this part of the country. Add to this, the tessellated pavement which was found near Gargrave shews, that the Romans have been in Craven, and made war upon the inhabitants of that country, by having a camp there ; and the tessellated pavement must be the very floor where the pavillion of Agricola was erected. That the Romans have been in that country Dr. Gale shews by several instances. The author of the anonymous Ravensas mentions Columium, which is the pre-

sent Colne, where are tokens of Roman monuments. Dr. Leigh mentions a silver urn full of Roman medals, found not far from Emmet ; and yet upon a careful survey of the Roman historians, who have given an account of the exploits and conquests of the Romans in Britain, I can find no account of any Roman general making war upon this country ; that is, upon the western Brigantes, besides Julius Agricola only, till it was wholly subdued to the obedience of the Roman empire. It is certain, according to Tacitus, in the first book of his general history, and second chapter, from these words, *perdomita Britannia et statim amissa* ; Sir Henry Savile shews, that the conquest of all Britain was finished by Julius Agricola in the reign of Domitian. Yet upon a careful survey of the Roman historians, I cannot find any Roman general advancing beyond the river Deva, or on the north side of it, and making conquests there, before, or in Domitian's reign, besides Agricola himself: this is a most convincing proof, that Julius Agricola was the general who conquered Craven. It is certain, the Roman legions must have been some weeks, if not months, hereabouts, and in Craven, from their fixed camp near Gargrave, which the chequered pavement

points out to us. Ravennas, a very old author, giving us a catalogue of those towns in Britain, which owe their foundation to the Romans, in his geography of Britain mentions Colunio, which Dr. Gale says is the present Colne ; also Gallunio, which the same antiquarian says is Whalley ; at the former of which places a camp is supposed to have been fixed. For when Tacitus expressly tells us, that Julius Agricola in person laid out the ground for the camps, *loca castris ipse capere* ; whilst he was invading the inhabitants between the estuaries and amongst the woods, within the dominions of the western Brigantes ; it is certain, Tacitus must mean of Agricola's camp near Gargrave, and that supposed to have been at Colne, as well as of all other camps which Agricola pitched this year's campaign, in which he conquered all those countries. The Britons found work for ten Roman proprætors one after another, for almost the space of 45 years ; that is, from the year of our Lord 43, about which time Claudius came into Britain, till about the year 87, in Domitian's reign, when Julius Agricola had finished the conquest of the Britons : so that our isle withstood the grand power of eight Roman emperors, before the warlike and valiant old Britons could

be subdued ; neither were they totally subdued at last. Nine proprætors conquered from Portus Rutupensis ; that is, Richborough in Kent, where the Romans landed, to the river Deva or North Wales. Julius Agricola, the tenth proprætor, began with the Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, and conquered the western Brigantes ; and then for five years after made war upon the inhabitants of Scotland, and so finished the conquest of Britain, according to Tacitus. As for the conquest of Westmorland, Agricola's military way running from Overborough through that county proves it. All these particulars put together sufficiently evince, that Agricola conquered Craven, Westmorland, Lancashire and Cumberland in the second campaign he made in Britain, which was what I promised to prove.

I come now to the third thing I am to prove from the express words of Tacitus, that Julius Agricola erected stations in the same year, in which he conquered the inhabitants between the estuaries. From this account we learn the antiquity of every station in Lancashire. The stations or fortresses in Lancashire are four ; Bremetonacæ, Overborough ; Longovicus, Lancaster ; Mancunium, Manchester ; Coccium, Ribchester.

I shall put down Tacitus' words out of the 20th chap. of Agricola's life, to prove this; *Quibus rebus multæ civitates quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et præsiidiis castellisque circumdatis, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britannie nova pars illaccessita transiret.* Which words I interpret and paraphrase thus; many cities of the inhabitants between the estuaries, and also of the woods in the eastern parts of Lancashire, Cumberland, and Craven, being frightened with the sudden inroads of Agricola amongst them: and well they might, for Agricola had three legions, which, with their full auxiliaries, amounted to 36,000 fighting men, according to Vegetius. These cities, which till now had asserted a state of equality and independence, did after this lay aside all hostility, and delivered to Agricola hostages, as a security of their future obedience; and these cities were begirt with garrisons and fortresses, which Agricola erected with such circumspection and contrivance, that nothing was ever attempted against these fortresses; whereas no new fortified place in all Britain escaped before unassailed. In this passage we find Tacitus very express about the fortresses, which Agricola erected the same year, in which he conquer-

ed the inhabitants between the estuaries and amongst the woods. I ask, where we must look for these fortresses or stations, which Agricola erected? Why, where should we look for them, but in the countries which Agricola subdued this year amongst the inhabitants between the estuaries and woods. I have observed already, that Agricola began his second year's campaign from the river Deva, and so advanced north; let us examine, what fortresses we can find this way. It is most certain, Chester was a Roman station, and called Deva. Thus, by this interpretation of Tacitus, we discover the time when Chester became a Roman station; hence we learn, who the Roman general was, who erected a station at Deva; whereas to this day the Roman antiquity of Chester could never be discovered. The late learned Mr. Prescott of Chester, as we may observe in a letter of his printed in Dr. Leigh's natural history of Lancashire, took a great deal of learned pains, to trace out the Roman antiquity of Chester; but could not at last make it appear; whereas, according to Tacitus thus explained, Chester was erected into a station by Julius Agricola the same year, in which he conquered Lancashire. To confirm this, Ptolemy mentions the 20th legion

being at Chester, who writ his geography in Trajan's or Hadrian's reign ; which well could not be past 20, or 30, or 40 years after Agricola's second year's proprætorship in Britain ; and the 20th legion was called the Julian legion from Julius Agricola, which to me are two convincing proofs of the truth of this interpretation of Tacitus.

I will now take Agricola's stations in a row from south to north, by which means I trace out the four stations of Lancashire ; Mancunium, Manchester ; Coccium, Ribchester ; Bremetonacæ, Overborough ; Longovicus, Lancaster. These stations, four in number, are those which Tacitus says, Agricola surrounded many cities with, *multæ civitates præsiidiis castellisque circumdatæ*. I acknowledge I am very singular in my opinion, no critic or commentator ever dreamed of such an interpretation as I have put upon Tacitus' 20th chapter of Agricola's life. For my part, as to my own opinion, I am persuaded and convinced, that Tacitus in that chapter delivers to us the history of Agricola's conquests over the western Brigantes ; and the *castella*, which Tacitus mentions in that chapter, must be these of Chester, Manchester, Ribchester, Overborough, Lancaster. I shall therefore pro-

ceed with my interpretation upon Tacitus ; that historian says, Agricola surrounded many cities with garrisons and fortresses. Where were these cities? I answer, these were cities of the Britons, where Agricola built his fortresses. Chester was a city of the Britons, and called **Caerbabar**; Ribchester was a city of the western Brigantes, for Ptolemy the geographer, numbering up the cities of the Brigantes, mentions Ribodunum, which was the name of the old British city of Ribchester, as Coccium was the name of the fortress there ; and it is the opinion of a learned antiquarian, that Preston owes its original to Ribchester : so that though that polite and flourishing town had not its beginning from the Romans themselves ; yet it has so much of Roman extraction in it, that it may be called the daughter of the Roman Coccium, since, according to the opinion of Camden, Preston arose out of the ruins of Ribchester. That Overborough was a city, and a great city too, of the Britons, Camden says he learned from the inhabitants. Here it may be asked, how came Camden and the inhabitants to know this? I answer, they might know this very easily, because when Camden was at Overborough, which is now 156 years ago, the old

walls must be apparent ; so that by the appearance of the old ruins, which took up a great space of ground between the Lac and the Lune, according to Camden's words, a British city might be traced out ; for the cities of the Britons were surrounded with a trench and a rampart, and were round. This Cæsar tells us in his description of a British city. The name of this city, which stood where Overborough now stands, I take to be **Braboniack**, because the author of the Notitia, who took a list of the garrisons in Britain some time about the year 440, when he mentions the garrison of Overborough, calls it the garrison of Braboniacum ; so that as Braboniacum was the name of the city of Overborough, Bremetonacæ was the name of the fortress there.

Lancaster was a city of the western Brigantes, which may be proved from its British name, The Britons called Lancaster **Caerwerid**, which signifies a green city, and the old British name of Lancaster is still hinted at in the name of Green Aer, which is Green Caer, or the green city.

But still in all this account of these cities of the western Brigantes, I am not yet come up to the meaning of Tacitus, viz. *multæ civitates*

præsidis castellisque circumdatæ. From these words the historian must mean, that Julius Agricola surrounded many cities with garrisons and fortresses. Now it is plain, that Agricola built but one fortress at each of those cities. How then could Agricola, according to Tacitus, surround many cities with garrisons and fortresses? I answer, that Tacitus does not mean of those cities that had stations: but the historian must mean of those cities, that are in Lancashire, which were surrounded and invironed with these fortresses and military ways, which were laid 80 miles in length from Chester to Lancaster. That the meaning of Tacitus may appear in a clear light, take a view of the map of Agricola's second year's conquest of the western Brigantes, at the end. And as many cities as were in Lancashire between the fortresses and military ways on the east, and the sea on the west, so many cities may be said to be surrounded with garrisons and fortresses. For the garrisons that were quartered in these fortresses, their business was to stand all along the military ways as centinels and advanced guards, which they always did in time of war, and when they were under any apprehensions of a revolt of the Britons. So that by taking a view of the mili-

litary ways and fortresses drawn in the map, at the end, from Chester to Lancaster, 80 miles in length, and supposing the garrison of each respective fortress placed as guards and centinels, each on their respective military ways; this gives us a clear idea, what Tacitus means, when he says that Agricola surrounded many cities with garrisons and fortresses. According to this account, the cities which Agricola surrounded, must stand in Lancashire. It will therefore be expected from me, to prove there were many cities in Lancashire, when Agricola subdued the inhabitants of this country; for Tacitus says, many cities were surrounded with garrisons and fortresses; and these many cities must stand in Lancashire. But there is no difficulty at all in this, for I do not doubt, but that there were a great many cities in Lancashire, when Agricola conquered it, which I prove thus. Strabo the geographer says, that the woods to the Britons were cities; for the Britons, when they designed to build a city, cut down trees, then they inclosed a round plot of ground; with these trees they erected hovels to live in, and made also folds for their cattle; never fixing long in the same place. Cæsar in his commentaries gives us much the same account of a Bri-

tish city. It is accounted a city, says he, among the Britons, when some thick wood is fenced in with a trench and a rampart ; whither, to avoid the incursions of the enemy, the Britons retire, and take refuge in such fortified places. According to these accounts of Strabo and Cæsar, every wood in Lancashire must either have been a town or a city of the Britons. And to confirm this account, Tacitus says, that Julius Agricola taught the western Brigantes, how to build houses ; which shews, that the houses or cities which the Britons had, when Agricola came among them, were only such as Strabo and Cæsar describe ; namely, hovels made by rearing a few trees end to end.

Let us still proceed with examining Tacitus's account of those fortresses, which Agricola erected in Lancashire. *Multæ civitates præsidis castellisque circumdatæ, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britannia nova pars illaccessita transiret.* Many cities were environed with fortresses, built with such skill and contrivance, as well as care. The next sentence, because commentators reckon it obscure, I shall put down in Sir Henry Savile's translation, that nothing was ever attempted against them ; whereas no new fortified place in all Britain

escaped before unassailed. Of all the praises, which Tacitus bestows upon his hero, he seems most to admire Agricola, for that general's great skill in the contrivance of his fortresses. For Tacitus says in another place, besides what I have already quoted, that the greatest judges have observed, that no general erected fortresses with more art than Agricola, for no fortress of that general's building was ever taken by storm or surprise, or abandoned.

Let us examine one of Agricola's fortresses, since Tacitus applauds them so much; and Bremetonacæ shall be the fortress. And this we can do at this day, because Vegetius, who lived in Valentinian's reign, when Agricola's fortresses were garrisoned by soldiers, has left us a description of a complete fortress in the following words. *Castella munienda sunt loco tuto, ubi, et lignorum, et pabuli, et aquæ suppetit copia; et si diutius commorandum sit, loci salubritas eligenda; cavendum sit, ne mons vicinus altior, qui ab adversariis captus possit officere, considerandumque, ne torrentibus inundari consueverit campus.* Veg. Lib. 1. cap. 2. Let us apply the fortress of Overborough to this complete standard of Vegetius. According to Vegetius, a fortress ought to be erected in a se-

cure situation, which abounds with wood, grass, and hay for cattle, and plenty of water. Of all Agricola's fortresses that I have seen, Overborough, must abound the most with these four necessaries.

That fortress must have been surrounded with woods in Agricola's time; then for grass and hay for cattle, and plenty of water, what place can be compared to that valley, pleasantly situated on the banks of the rivers Lune and Lac? Let us proceed with Vegetius's description of a complete fortress. As to situation, which ought to be healthful, this agrees very well with the situation of old Bremetonacæ, which stood upon a fine rising ground in a valley, where there was always a free circulation of dry air for the Roman garrison. The next requisite Vegetius requires is, that no hill stand near the fortress, lest that hill falling into the possession of their enemies, they may annoy the garrison from it. There is a hill, but at such a distance from the fortress of Overborough, that no missive weapon from the hill could reach the fortress. The last requisite according to Vegetius, though the fortress must stand near a river, yet the situation ought to be so high, as never to be overflowed. The situation of Bremeton-

acæ answers this in all respects. This account of Vegetius helps us to discover the great art, skill and contrivance of Agricola, in the situation of his fortresses, for which Tacitus applauds him so much.

I have now gone through Tacitus's 20th chap. of Agricola's life; and I hope I have made it appear, that Julius Agricola conquered the western Brigantes in the second year of his proprætorship in Britain, and that in the same year he erected the four fortresses, and laid the military ways through the western Brigantes; and this year answers, according to Dionysius the chronologer, to the year of our Lord 79, Flavius Vespasian and Titus Vespasian being consuls.

To confirm this account, I will add one circumstance more; a copper medal of the first magnitude, which I have in my collection, was found buried several yards deep in the fortress at Ribchester. The river Ribble, which now washes away the fortress, by forcing away a shoot of earth, laid bare this medal. It is certain, this medal must have been dropt by some legionary soldier, when the fortress was made; otherwise no account can be given, how it should be several yards deep in the fortress, except it

was lost when the soldiers were heaping one great pile of earth upon another, that the medal happened to be buried so deep. This medal bears date, Flavius Vespasian, Cos. VIII. See the plate, fig. 1. I have examined the *fasti consulares*, and find that Flavius Vespasian was consul the eighth time, in the very year that Agricola conquered Lancashire; and erected the four fortresses in that county. So that this medal bears testimony to my interpretation of Tacitus; and both together mutually support and illustrate each other.

I come now to relate the great advantages, which the western Brigantes received from Julius Agricola, the winter after he had subdued them. Tacitus spends a whole chapter, in relating what Agricola did. The winter was spent, says Tacitus, in giving most wholesome advice to the people. Agricola observing their rude uncultivated dispositions prone to war, indulged them in ease and pleasures; he exhorted them in private, he assisted them in common. Agricola taught the western Brigantes to build temples and houses, and how to erect forums; that is, places of public resort for the Britons to meet in, and converse with the Romans, and become sociable. It appears

from this account of Tacitus, that the Britons till now had no temples for their idols. The largest oak in the wood served for a temple among the Germans and Gauls; and I suppose it was so among the Britons; and the deity of the oak was what the Britons worshipped. It appears also from Tacitus, that the Britons had no houses of stone, till Julius Agricola taught the western Brigantes how to build houses after the Roman fashion. Besides all this, Agricola took the children of the principal men, and instructed them in the liberal arts and sciences. Tacitus observes one thing, which is very much to the honour of the western Brigantes; that Agricola preferred the natural genius of these Britons before the Gauls: for these Britons were very desirous to become masters of the Roman language, whereas the Gauls had refused to learn it. For Agricola had been Proconsul in Aquitain, almost three years before Flavius Vespasian had appointed him proprætor over Britain. So that Agricola, being well acquainted both with the Britons and Gauls, was a competent judge of the natural abilities of both. After this the western Brigantes used the Roman dress, and the Toga; says Tacitus, became the frequent habit amongst them. But

matters were carried higher than all this, the western Brigantes must needs have their porticos, balnea, and what not. And to confirm this account of Tacitus, that Julius Agricola taught the western Brigantes to build temples, houses, porticos, forums, balnea, &c. Camden, in describing the Roman monuments, where Agricola had erected stations, observes, that at some of these places were in his time, arches, vaults, &c. under ground, besides what he observed above ground, or often dug up, statutes, pedestals of pillars, chapiters, altars, marbles, which confirm Tacitus's account of those buildings. Tacitus's reflection on these matters is worth our observation, that when the Britons had got porticos and balnea, these became incitements to vice: so that now the western Brigantes had accustomed themselves to exquisite banquetings and luxury. Thus we learn from Tacitus, that the western Brigantes were the first of all the Britons, that were instructed by Julius Agricola in the Roman language, dress, politeness and vices at the same time. But here it may be asked, why he did this to the western Brigantes; when no other Roman that we read of did so before to the western Britons? Two reasons may be given; 1. All Britain, as far as

Scotland, except Northumberland, which was a distinct nation of itself, was become subject to the Roman empire at this time ; so that it was now high time for the Romans to endeavour to polish the rude and barbarous dispositions of the Britons, who were become members of the Roman empire. 2. A second reason Tacitus gives us for what Agricola did to the western Brigantes: the Britons, says he, being rude and uncultivated, and prone to war upon every occasion, Agricola attempted to break, soften, and humanize the natural bent of their tempers by luxury, pleasures and ease.

I have now finished what I designed relating to the four heads, which I promised to prove at the beginning of this chapter ; and as by the title of this chapter it appears, I promised to shew and prove the year when, and the Roman general, who erected the fortress of Bremetonacæ at Overborough ; so from the foregoing particulars, I hope I have made it sufficiently plain, that Julius Agricola erected the station of Bremetonacæ in the second year of his prætorship over Britain, under the emperor Flavius Vespasian, which according to Dionysius the chronologer answers to the year of our Lord 79 ; Flavius Vespasian and Titus Vespasian consuls.

CHAP. VI.

THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD BREMETONACE.

Since we have no history extant concerning the Roman stations in Briton, besides their names only recorded, and those very difficult to fix; whoever attempts to write on any one single station, if he designs to give any tolerable account of it, will find himself obliged to pick and cull materials from every circumstance that will afford him the least light, to illustrate the history of that station he writes upon. As to the names of the Roman stations in Britain, some few of them are Latin names; but a great part, if not the greatest number of them, are names compounded of British words.

When the famous Camden began to study the antiquities of Britain, he observed most of the names of the Roman stations to be made up of compound British words; which very observation put Camden upon learning the British language.

As to any light we can strike out of a name, to illustrate the history of that station to which the name belongs; I argue thus: the names of those stations that are Latin names, I always

find refer to some remarkable thing belonging to that station, to which the name belongs. For instance, the name of the Roman station of Bath, i. e. Aquæ-calidæ; the name of the station at Tadcaster is Calcaria, from *lapis calcarius*, because the Romans had their lime from thence. The name of the station at Newcastle upon Tyne is Pons Ælii, because Ælius Hadrianus the emperor erected that station. Hence I argue, that if the names of the stations that are Latin refer to some remarkable thing belonging to that respective station, by a parallel reason the names of those stations that are compound British words, must undoubtedly refer also to some remarkable thing belonging to each of the stations to which the British compound name belongs; consequently, by knowing what these British words signify, which make up the name of a station, we get to know some remarkable thing to illustrate the history of that station.

I thought it proper to premise thus much, because I hope to prove from the derivation of the word Bremetonacæ, a remarkable piece of history belonging to that station. Dr. Gale is my authority; the learned doctor, in his notes upon Antoninus's Itinerary through Britain, gives us the derivation of the word Bremeton-

acæ. The doctor observes, that this name is a compound of three British words, **Br**, **mænig**, **tan**; *mons, saxeus, ignis*; that is, to express it in English, the rocky hill fire station; that is, the station at Overborough had a fire upon a hill. Now it is certain, the fortress at Overborough did not stand upon a rocky hill, so the fire could not be there. Dr. Gale helps us to find this rocky hill where the fire was, which belonged to this fortress at Overborough, by acquainting us, that the word Ingleborough signifies the same thing in the Saxon tongue, which the word Bremetonacæ signifies in the British tongue. Hence we learn, that the garrison at Overborough erected a beacon, fire-house, or watch-tower, upon the rocky hill of Ingleborough, and appointed watches or centinels there. These centinels, by their signals of fire, were to give notice, and alarm the soldiers of the garrison of Bremetonacæ, upon their discovering the approach of the enemy. It is certain, the use of beacons or watch-towers upon hills, to alarm the country round of the approach of an enemy, was an old custom, long before the Romans invaded Britain: for we read of beacons in the Old Testament. And to confirm all, this beacon or fire-house of the

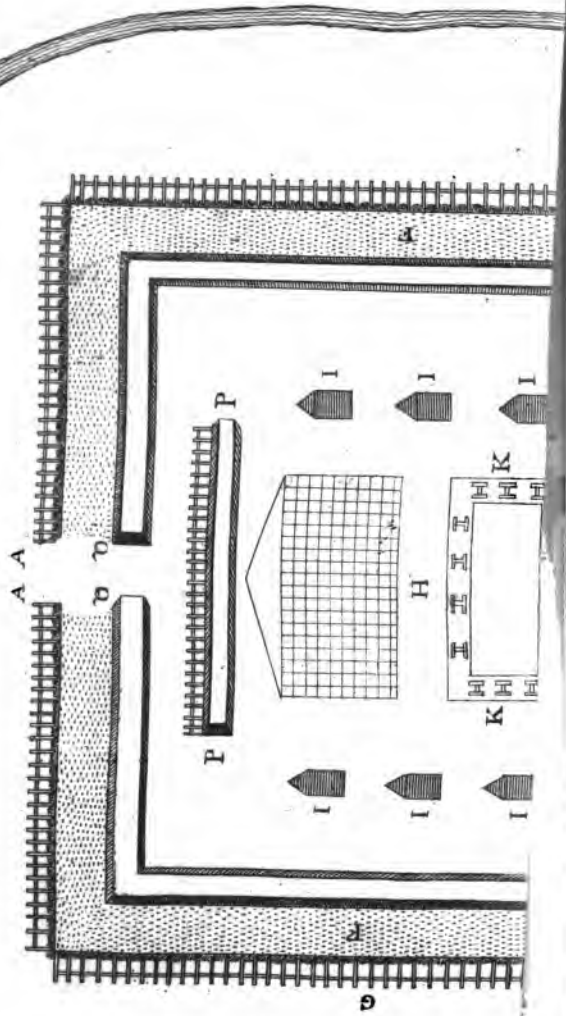
Romans has to this day its ruins visible upon Ingleborough, which is a remarkable rocky hill. And the Roman watch-tower is situate on that side the summit of the hill, which looks towards Overborough: and that the garrison of Overborough might receive better information from the signals of fire upon Ingleborough, there was always a centinel upon duty in one of these two turrets of the northern part of the fortress of Overborough, for which use these two turrets were erected, as I shall shew afterwards. In confirmation of all this, the word Borough signifies a fortified mount; i. e. Ingleborough from its very name denotes a fortification; and so it was, when it had Roman soldiers fixed upon it, to stand as centinels appointed and detached from the garrison of Bremetonacæ. It is certain, from repeated observations upon the art of war in use among the Romans in Britain, that every fortress had centinels appointed by the præfect or tribune of the garrison, to keep watch at some convenient place and distance from the garrison, and always upon the highest hill they could meet with; and, if the fortress was situate in a flat country, the legions made a mount, and several of these made mounts are visible at this day. The Romans called these

mounts *montes exploratorii*, or *castra exploratoria*; and, if I am not mistaken, the fortress of Bremetonacæ might challenge all the fortresses in Britain, to shew such another *mons exploratorius*, as theirs of Ingleborough.

As for a *castra exploratorum*, as I imagine, it differed from a *mons exploratorius*, because the former contained more *exploratores*, or watchmen, than the latter; and that there were *castra exploratorum* upon Ingleborough, consisting of a great many centinels, I guess from hence; namely, because the Roman name of the fortress at Overborough, in all the three copies of Antoninus, is the plural number: which intimates, as I imagine, that the fortress of Bremetonacæ had another belonging to it. For which reasons, when the Saxons came, they gave the name of Overborough to the station of Bremetonacæ, and the name of Ingleborough to the *castra exploratorum* belonging to Overborough. Hence came the two Saxon names, Overborough and Ingleborough: the Saxons being sent for into Britain by King Vortigern, a British Prince, about four years after the Romans had abandoned our isle, and left their fortifications standing, to be possessed and made use of, as they accidentally fell into the hands of Britons or Saxons.



Tab. 2.



CHAP. VII.

THE FORM AND PLAN OF THE FORTRESS OF BREMETON-
ACÆ, WHILST IN POSSESSION OF A ROMAN GARRISON.

When old Bretonnacæ appeared in all its martial greatness and glory, and possessed of a Roman garrison, this plan (see the table at the end,) is a faint representation of it, as near as I can guess, by examining the ruins of those fortresses which have any foundations of the prætorium, or of the barracks or papilios of the soldiers, or of the forums, or of the ramparts, &c. visible at this day. For no antiquarian, that I can find, has left us a draught or plan of a Roman fortress, when garrisoned with soldiers; so I am obliged to put old Bretonnacæ's fortress together as well as I can.

AA.

Porta Prætoria because this gate stood next to the prætorium. This port was next to the enemy, and which they laid their batteries against, according to the learned Sir Henry Savile; for which reason this side of the fortress was elevated the highest, being most exposed to danger.

BB.

Porta decumana. This gate was nearest the river for convenience of water. At this gate the soldiers brought in their forage. This side is called the back part of the fortress, towards which all the barracks of the soldiers were built.

CC.

Porta sinistra principalis.

DD.

Porta dextra principalis. Both these gates so called, because they led into the *via principalis*, or common way into the fortress.

From a passage in Suetonius's life of Julius Cæsar it appears, that it was the duty of the centurions, each to stand at his gate, and defend it, when a fortress was attacked by the enemy.

EEE.

The four great ramparts, walls, or battlements of stone, which inclose the fortress. I cannot find out what height these were; but by the battlements which I have seen at some fortresses, I guess they might be about 12 feet high. I reckon a wall of defence amongst the Romans was probably that height, because venerable Bede says, Severus's wall was twelve feet high, and four thick.

FFF.

The *fossa*, or ditch encompassing the ramparts or battlements of stone.

GGG.

The *agger*, or bank made by the earth thrown out of the *fossa* or ditch. This *agger* was made firm with *sudes*, or strong stakes, which were fixed after the manner of pallisadoes.

HHH.

The *prætorium*, the head commander of the garrison's apartment, whether he was præfect or tribune; this *prætorium* was laid with a tessellated pavement, being cubes of various and beautiful colours. Camden mentions these tessellated pavements, which were to be seen in his time at Overborough, and where these pavements were, in that very place stood the *prætorium*. In this *prætorium* was an apartment called the *augurale*, set aside for prayers, sacrifices, and religious uses.

III.

The apartment, as I imagine, of the centurion. When a garrison consisted of one cohort, there must be six centurions, according to *Vegetius de re militari*.

KK.

The *principia*, according to Sir Henry Savile,

was the forum, or the eagles or ensigns of the legions. But according to Kennet the *principia* was the place where the statues of the gods and their altars stood. Here then stood the idol Mogon, the god of the Britons of Overborough, adopted among the gods of the Romans, and here stood Mogon's altar, which I have now in my possession.

LMN.

The ensigns of the Roman legions. If there were only a cohort, or tenth part of a legion, then the ensigns, or *signa militaria*, were these two marked LN ; but the eagle marked M was the ensign of a whole legion.

OOO.

The barracks of the soldiers, where they of the garrison lodged. These barracks were strong stone buildings. Mr. Horsley measured the walls of the barracks of Amboglana's fortress, and found them 28 inches thick. But what is remarkable, the streets between these rows of barracks were only 32 inches wide. The Romans called these barracks *papiliones*, hence the word pavilion. To every papilio were allotted ten soldiers to lodge in, says *Vegetius de re militari*; and the head officer over every *papilio* was called *decanus*, and the ten soldiers were called *contubernium*.

PP.

The *forum* assigned for provisions, and also for the head officers of the garrison to hold councils in.

qq rr.

At the four gates or ports were eight turrets, two to each port or gate. The use of these turrets was for the centinels to keep watch in. From these eight turrets the centinels might take a view to all the points of the compass, and spy the enemy on their distant approach on any side, and from every quarter. The centinels in the north turrets (marked qr qr) were to receive information from the *mons exploratorius*, or *castra exploratorum* upon Ingleborough, who gave the alarm by fire. The turrets of the fortress Amboglana in Cumberland have their ruins visible at this day ; and Severus's wall had above 400 of these exploratory turrets upon it.

CHAP. VIII.

IN WHICH OF THE TWO PROVINCES OF SEVERUS, OR IN WHICH OF THE FIVE PROVINCES OF VALENTINIAN, STOOD BREMETONACE; AND WHO WERE THE GREAT MAGISTRATES AND OFFICERS THAT FORTRESS WAS SUBJECT TO.

When the Romans had reduced Britain to the empire, he who was invested with the supreme power of it, was called the proprætor of Britain; or when his title is engraved upon stones to be seen at this day, he is called *legatus Augustalis proprætor*, or *legatus Augusti nostri Britannicæ*. The first of these titles is often found upon stones in Britain, the latter but seldom; these stones being engraven, and erected by the legions for altars, or honorary monuments, and memorials of the building of a station. Julius Agricola was the 10th proprætor. It was a more honourable post to be proprætor over Britain, than to be proconsul over any other province of the empire; the reason was this. He who was proprætor of Britain was appointed so by the emperor, consequently was invested with the supreme military power, as well as civil, over Britain. Whereas he who was made proconsul over another province was

made so by the appointment of the people, and consequently had no military power within his province, but only civil. This distinction of a military proprætor, and a proconsul only of civil power, arose from a constitution of Augustus. That prince dividing the empire into two parts, one half he reserved for himself, and appointed over these provinces of his own, head officers, invested both with civil and military power; the other half of the provinces Augustus delivered over to the Roman people, to appoint proconsuls over those provinces, which proconsuls having not the military power, fell short in honour to the proprætors of Britain, which was a province belonging to the emperor, and not to the Roman people. Bremetonacæ, as well as the other fortresses in Britain, were each subject to their respective præfect or tribune; the præfect or tribune was subject to the legate or head commander of a legion, and the legate subject to the proprætor. But we are to note, that he who was proprætor, was legate too over all the legions of Britain.

All Britain was but one province of the Romans, till the reign of Severus. Septimius Severus divided Britain into two provinces, says Herodian, Lib. 3. cap. 24. This division might

be about *anno domini* 199. The two provinces were called *Britannia prima* and *Britannia secunda*. This division was thus, as much as I can understand of the matter: that part of Britian which lay to the east was called *Britannia prima*. The other half was called *Britannia secunda*; for I have read somewhere, that York was in *Britannia prima*, and Chester stood in *Britannia secunda*; consequently the fortress of Bremetonacæ must stand in *Britannia secunda* too.

After this we find Britain divided into four provinces, *Britannia prima*, *Britannia secunda*, *Flavia Cæsariensis*, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*. *Flavia Cæsariensis* contained Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somersetshire, and *Maxima Cæsariensis* contained Scotland.

After this the author of the *Notitia*, who writ some time after the year 425, and before the year 446, reckons up five provinces of Britain, two whereof, says the same author, i. e. *Maxima Cæsariensis* and *Valentia*, were consular provinces; the other three, namely, *Britannia prima*, *Britannia secunda*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*, were governed by presidents. The author of the *Notitia*, because he adds a fifth province, called *Valentia*, we must now enquire where that pro-

vince lay ; because wherever it lay, we find the station of Bremetonacæ within the jurisdiction of Valentia. To find out therefore the situation of Valentia, we must consult *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Lib. 28. cap. 3. where we find this account : *In integrum restituit civitates, instaurabat urbes et præsiaria castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur, et prætenturis ; recuperatamque provinciam ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut rectorem legitimum haberet et Valentia deinde vocaretur.* That is, Theodosius the Roman general repaired the cities of Britain, and he defended the fortresses with garrisons ; and on the limits of the Roman empire in Britain, which was Severus's wall, he appointed watches and *prætenturæ*, i. e. garrisons in a row on the wall of Severus ; and restored the province to its former state, in such a manner, as to have a governor, and be called Valentia, in honour of the emperor Valentinian. Here we find, that according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Theodosius, general to Valentinian about the year 369, repaired the cities and fortresses, and appointed watches along the limits of the empire in Britain, and called that province Valentia ; but where was this Valentia situated ? The author of the *Notitia* shews us, who gives us a list of these

garrisons which Theodosius had fixed in Valentia. And from that author we learn, that these garrisons were fixed on Severus's wall, and to the south of the wall ; by this means we get to know, where the province of Valentia was situated ; and the fortress of Overborough, being one of these which Theodosius repaired, thence we collect, that Bremetonacæ was situated within the province of Valentia. The reason why I am so inquisitive, where Valentia was, is, because Camden places this province in Scotland, which, with all submission to that learned man, I humbly presume is a mistake. From what I have quoted from Marcellinus, and, collected from the author of the *Notitia*, I infer, that the province of Valentia, and the dominions of the Brigantes, were much about the same tract of land.

Bremetonacæ therefore standing within the province of Valentia, this fortress was subject to the head magistrate, or officer of that province, who was called *Dux Valentiaë*, and was always a consular man. And here it's observable, that the first time we read of dukes among the Romans, is the duke of Valentia ; over the duke of Valentia is the *Vicarius Britanniarum*, who was the supreme Roman magistrate in

Britain, and was introduced into the place of the proprætor, when proprætors were laid aside, which was about the reign of Diocletian, or Constantine the Great, about the beginning of the fourth century. The garrison of Overborough was subject to the duke of Valentia at this time, the duke of Valentia subordinate to the Vicarius Britanniarum, and he to the emperor.

CHAP. IX.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE EIGHT GARRISONS FIXED BETWEEN SEVERUS'S WALL AND OVERBOROUGH, IN ORDER TO ILLUSTRATE THE DUTY AND BUSINESS BELONGING TO THE GARRISON OF SOLDIERS AT OVERBOROUGH.

The *Notitia* is the only author I can apply to, to get any account of the garrisons in Britain; and it is a very short account, which that book, being properly a register or roll of the Roman empire, has left us of the garrisons of the Romans in Britain; however, that roll is of good authority, because it was taken, while the Romans possessed the fortresses of Britain. I will set down the account, which the author of the *Notitia* gives of the eight garrisons between the west end of Severus's wall and Overborough.

1. *Præfectus alæ primæ Herculeæ, Olenaco.*
2. *Tribunus cohortis tertiæ Nerviorum, Alone.*
3. *Cuneus armaturarum, Bremetenraco.*
4. *Tribunus cohortis sextæ Nerviorum, Virosidio.*
5. *Præfectus numeri Barcariorum Tigrisensium, Ar-beicæ.*
6. *Præfectus numeri Nerviorum Dictensium, Dicti.*
7. *Præfectus numeri vigilum, Concangio.*
8. *Præfectus numeri Longovicariorum, Longovico.*

View the map of the garrisons, at the end, how these eight garrisons were situated between Severus's wall and Overborough, where the names of the modern towns are placed in an opposite column to their respective Roman names in the map. In order therefore to illustrate the proper duty and business of the garrison of Overborough; I find it necessary, first to give an account of the eight garrisons on the south-west side of Severus's wall, and by giving an account of these eight, I can introduce the garrison of Overborough, and make the business of the soldiers in that garrison to be better understood. I have already set down what the author of the *Notitia* has registered of these eight garrisons; and to make that account more clear, I shall set down a sketch of the history of Britain about Anno Domini 364, from Marcellinus, Lib. 28. Cap. 3. which is as follows :

The Caledonian Picts of Scotland broke through all before them, even Severus's wall, advanced as far as London, plundered and sacked that city, which Marcellinus says was called Augusta. But Theodosius, general to Valentinian the first, surrounded them, recovered all their plunder, and restored it to the right owners. After this Theodosius drives these Caledonians into Scotland, their own country; then it was that Marcellinus says, *In integrum restituit civitates, et castra multiplicibus damnis adificat instaurabat, urbes et præsidaria castra limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis*. From which words we learn, that Theodosius repaired the cities of the Britons, and the fortresses demolished by the Caledonian Picts of Scotland; he restored the cities and the garrisoned fortresses, and fixed watch-towers all along the limits of the empire, which must be on Severus's wall; he also fixed garrisons in a line. Thus we are informed by Marcellinus; that the Caledonians of Scotland had demolished the fortresses all along the limits of the Roman empire in Britain, which limits I take to be Severus's wall, if that wall was built with a design to be the bounds of the empire in Britain. Now Bre-metonacæ being one of these fortresses, or præ-

sidiaria castra, which the Caledonians had demolished, we find that it was Theodosius that repaired it amongst the rest; so that as Julius Agricola built Bremetonacæ, Theodosius general to Valentinian, above 250 years after repaired the same fortress. And this same Theodosius, who according to all accounts was the most renowned warrior of that age, fixed garrisons on Severus's wall, and on the south-west side of the said wall, which Marcellinus calls the limits of the empire in Britain. I thence collect and infer, that it was this renowned general, that appointed the garrison called defensores at Overborough. From the foregoing account it appears, that the Caledonian Picts were the common and implacable enemies of the Roman empire in Britain. And therefore Theodosius placed those garrisons on Severus's wall, and to the south west of the wall, to be a barrier, and to oppose the Caledonians, who lived by robbery and plunder, especially plundering the Britons who were subjects of the empire. I think it may not be amiss, before I say any thing further about the garrisons, to give a character of an old Caledonian Pict, the common enemy both of the Britons and Romans. These Caledonian Picts were such a plague to the Romans, that

the Roman historians have been very particular in giving a description of them. Herodian, Lib. 3. Cap. 47. says the Caledonians can swim through fens, or run into them up to the neck in mud and dirt ; for the greatest part of their bodies being naked, they matter not being all over dirty. They wear iron about their bodies, and about their necks, and imagine this iron, which they wear, as genteel an ornament, as if it was gold ; they paint upon their bodies the pictures of various living creatures, but use no clothes, that the pictures may appear to view. They are a very bloody and warlike people, their weapons are a little shield, a target, and a spear ; their swords hang on their naked bodies.

Dion Cassius gives the following account of the Caledonians.

They inhabit naked uncultivated hills, and most barren plains. They have no towns, neither do they manure the ground. Their subsistence is the milk of their cattle, besides what they get by hunting, and also some fruits in woods. They refuse to feed on fish, which is in great plenty among them. Tents are all the houses they have, where they live naked. Wives are common among them. They take

an equal care of all the children they bring forth. Their government is popular, and their constant employ is robbery and plundering. They make war with chariots; their horses are little but nimble, active and sure-footed. Their arms which they use, a buckler, a poinard, and a short lance; at the lower end of this lance is a piece of brass like an apple, they rattle this probably upon their buckler, to strike a panic fear into their enemies. They are used to hunger and cold, fatigues and hardships. They run up to the very chin in morasses, and can live in them with their head only out for several days without eating. When they go to the groves, then roots and leaves are their food. They have the secret of making a certain eatable, whereof when they have eaten the size of a bean, they feel no more hunger and thirst for several days.

Thus much concerning an old Caledonian Pict from Herodian and Dion Cassius. As to their country, I take the greatest part of Scotland beyond Edinburgh Frith on the east, and the Frith of Clyde on the west, to have been inhabited by the Caledonians. All the sea to the west on that part of Scotland is called the Deucaledonian sea, from the British word *Dechen*,

right hand or west, and Caledonia : and Camden says, Aberdeen was their capital city. But I am well assured, the vast Caledonian wood in the very heart of Scotland was the grand Metropolis of these people. The present highlanders are the offspring of the old Caledonian Picts ; and the highlanders to this day use the same weapons, which the Picts their ancestors used.

I shall now resume my main subject, and proceed with the eight garrisons which were fixed between Severus's wall and Overborough. This account is not taken from any history extant of these garrisons, for there are none ; but the following remarks occur to me from the situation of these eight garrisons ; which remarks I make for no other reason, but that I may introduce my account of the garrison at Overborough, which is the ninth and last garrison. When an army of Caledonians arose, and attempted to invade the empire in Britain ; then they attempted Severus's wall ; and there are several instances of their breaking through that barrier, getting into the empire, plundering and sacking all before them. At other times, when the Caledonians invaded the empire, it appears from the situation of these eight garrisons, (see the map

of the garrisons, table 3. at the end.) that their usual entrance was over Solway Frith at the west end of Severus's wall. It is upon this account that Theodosius fixed garrisons upon the coasts of Cumberland, to oppose these robbers. The Caledonians could not enter the empire at the east end of Severus's wall, because the mouth of the river Tyne was both too deep and too broad, either to swim or ford. Solway Frith was the usual rout, by which the Caledonians entered the empire, when they were in single clans, and not able to attack the garrisons on the wall, (see Severus's wall in table 3. at the end.) As soon as a Caledonian clan had passed Solway Frith, if they skulked along the sea coasts of Cumberland, to get into Lancashire past all the garrisons, there was a garrison at Virosidum, now Elenborough, on the sea-coasts to oppose them. This garrison, according to the author of the *Notitia*, consisted of a cohort of Nervian soldiers; and there is visible to this day a *mons exploratorius* near this fortress, from which mount a centinel might view all the coasts of Scotland on the other side of Solway Frith, and spy the enemy on their distant approach. But if the Caledonians, by the assistance of a dark night, got safe by the

fortress of Elenborough, there was another garrison more to the south upon the sea-coasts, called Arbeia, now Moresby. This garrison, according to the *Notitia*, consisted of Barcarian soldiers, to oppose the Caledonians. But if the Caledonians got safe by these two garrisons, skulking along the sea-coasts of Cumberland, there was a third garrison, still further south of this, at Longovicus, now Lancaster. This garrison, according to the *Notitia*, consisted of the Lancastrians or townsmen. And if the Caledonians got past this garrison, there were no more garrisons south-west to the utmost parts of Britain. But if it happened that the clans of Caledonians got over Solway Frith in large bodies together, and had courage to fight the garrisons; then they entered Cumberland immediately about Olenacum, now old Carlisle. The author of the *Notitia* places the Ala Herculea at this fortress, so called in honour of Maximianus Herculeus. If the Caledonians passed this garrison, and advanced towards the east, then was the garrison of Alone, now Whitley Castle, ready to oppose them. But if the Caledonians judged it more adviseable to march towards the south, to get out of the reach of the 18 garrisons on Severus's wall, (view the

map) then they fell in with the garrison of Bre-metenracum, now Old Penrith or Plunton Wall. There was a noble garrison here, which is called, according to the *Notitia*, *Cuneus armaturarum*, which Vegetius says is a troop of horse armed in the most complete manner. If the Caledonians escaped this garrison, and marched on still south, then they came within the compass of the garrison of Dictis, now Ambleside in Westmorland. If the Caledonians got safe by the garrison of Ambleside, where the *Notitia* places a company of Nervian soldiers; the next garrison to the south was at Concangium, now Kendale. At this place the author of the *Notitia* mentions a company of watchmen. And here it was very proper, because if the Caledonian Picts had advanced thus far undiscovered, then were they got by all the fortresses except Overborough. So then they might pillage, plunder and sack all before them without controul. It was therefore the business of Concangium, now Kendale, to set watches at proper places, and upon a discovery to acquaint the other garrisons, who being alarmed might prepare for a pursuit and an attack. This brings me to give an account

CHAP. X.

WHAT WAS THE BUSINESS AND DUTY PECULIAR TO THE GARRISON CALLED DEFENSORES AT OVERBOROUGH.

The author of the *Notitia*, who took a list or register of the garrisons of the Romans in Britain some time after the year 425, when he comes to give an account of the garrison at Overborough, does it in the following words :

Præfectus numeri defensorum Braboniaco, i. e. that was a præfect over a cohort of soldiers, called the defensores, at Braboniacum, which was the name of the city of Overborough.

What was the duty and office peculiar to the defensores among the Roman legions, I found no small difficulty to discover ; till looking into Pitiscus's Lexicon of the Roman antiquities, I found what was the office of the garrison of defensores at Overborough. Pitiscus says, (and he quotes Constant. *Porphyrogenitus de Thematibus*. Cap. 40. for it).

Eos defensores esse, qui currentes hostes sequuntur ; ipsi defensores non currunt, sed ordine simul progrediuntur, eos qui hostes sequebantur, excipiunt, et defendunt, si forte in fugam vertantur, et inde nomen habuerunt. Those are called defensores among the Roman soldiers, who follow the pursuers of the flying enemies. The defensores

do not pursue, but follow after in rank and file, to receive into their own body, and succour and defend those who pursue, in case the enemies should rally, and put the pursuers to flight. Hence they got the title of defensores. It is certain there was not such a body of soldiers as the defensores among the legions of the higher empire, or Augustan age: but as Constantine the Great made alterations in the divisions, ranks and form of the legions; it is certain, that first Christian emperor introduced the body of men called defensores among the legions, in the room of the old triarii, which were a select number of the choicest soldiers in the higher empire.

Kennet describes the triarii thus, Chap. 5. Book 4. of his antiquities. The triarii were veterans, or hardy old soldiers of long experience and approved valour. They had the name of triarii from their position in the third place, as the main strength and hopes of their party. And Cap. 10. the triarii marched in so wide and loose a rank, that upon occasion they could receive the other soldiers into their body in any distress.

Kennet's description of the triarii of the higher empire agrees so exactly with the defensores

of the lower empire ; that it is certain, Diocletian, or Constantine the Great, did appoint this choice body of men called *defensores*, instead of the *triarii*. And to confirm this, the garrison of *defensores* at Overborough were veterans like the *triarii*; for the chorography of Ravennas calls Overborough *Bremetonacæ Veteranorum*. Hence I conclude, that the *defensores* were the same kind of men in the lower, as the *triarii* were in the higher empire. I thence infer, that the choicest body of men in the Roman legions being veterans, and hardy old soldiers men of long experience and approved valour, were garrisoned at Overborough, when the author of the *Notitia* took a list of the garrisons in Britain. To proceed with our account of the *defensores*: one of their duties was, to guard the walls of a town, in case that town was in danger. Ptitiscus tells us so, and quotes his authority out of the second book of *Marcellinus*, Cap. 7. *Hos defensores moenium appellat, quibus adire propius ausis, defensores properarunt*. It was the duty of the *defensores*, not only to guard the walls, but they were also to watch, according to Ptitiscus; *defensores, nisi vigilassent, in audaciam ruere præcipitem*. That the several duties here mentioned must belong to the garrison of defen-

sotes at Overborough, is certain ; for Pitiscus, when he illustrates the business of the defensores, particularly takes notice of the defensores in the *Notitia*, and quotes Pancirollus, who writ notes upon the *Notitia*.

Let us now enquire, why this choice body of soldiers should be placed in garrison at Overborough. The reason seems plain, Overborough being the last garrison most to the south-west ; if a force of Caledonian Picts had got safely by the other eight garrisons, and got to their proper business of plundering and sacking the towns and villages of the Britons in Yorkshire and Lancashire, subjects of the Romans : if the Caledonians, being engaged with parties from the rest of the garrisons, and proving too many for the Romans and Britons, it was the duty of the defensores, to attend and succour the flying Romans and Britons, to open their ranks, and to receive into their own body those who were put to flight. For the business of the defensores was not so much to fight as to succour, because they were veterans, to open their ranks and let in the flying Britons and Romans pursued by the Caledonians ; or in case the Caledonians fled, the defensores were not to pursue, but to march leisurely after in due rank and order to

succour the pursuers, in case the Caledonians rallied upon the Romans. And this I take to be the reason, why the defensores were placed at Overborough; that it might be the most southerly garrison in the limits of the empire. Consequently it was necessary to have there an approved body of choice soldiers that the Britons might fly thither in any distress: there being no more garrisons south-west to the farthest part of Britain; for at this time the fortresses of Ribchester and Manchester, &c. in short, all the fortresses were placed north of Overborough, and their garrisons fixed on Severus's wall, and on the limits of the empire, as appears from the *Notitia*, to guard against that restless and untamed enemy the Caledonian Picts, who were a greater plague to the Romans in Britain, than all the revolts the Britains made, whilst they were under the Roman empire.

CHAP. XI.

TO WHAT LEGION DID THE DEFENSORES OF OVERBOROUGH BELONG AND WHAT MIGHT THEIR NUMBER BE.

The author of the *Notitia*, when he gives us a list of the garrisons under the duke of Valentia, whom he calls *Dux Britanniarum*, mentions

first of all the sixth legion, and then sets down the garrison of *defensores* at Overborough, the ninth garrison after. From whence it is obvious, that the *defensores* were part of the sixth legion. This legion, when it is engraven upon stone, is put thus; **LEG, VI, V, P, F**; *Legio sexta victrix pia fidelis*.

This legion came into Britain in the reign of Hadrian. That emperor came into Britain himself, and made a turf wall from Tyne mouth to Solway Frith, from east sea to west sea, between 60 and 70 miles long, which he designed for the barriers and limits of the empire in Britain, called by antiquarians Hadrian's vallum. The sixth legion continued in Britain, till the Romans abandoned our isle. York was the place where this legion usually resided. Mr. Thoresby of Leeds had bricks in his museum, which he found at York with the title of the sixth legion.

I come now to enquire, what might the number of the *defensores* be, which made up the garrison at Overborough. The author of the *Notitia* calls them *numerus defensorum*; but what this *numerus* contained, is not so easy to determine. That the word *numerus* is a military term is certain; for instance, Tacitus, Vita

Agricolæ, says; *Sparsis per provinciam numeris*: and Suetonius, *Vita Vespasiani*; *Revocatis ad officium numeris*. But the difficulty remains still, what determinate number this term *numerus* contained. Ulpian, the Roman lawyer, says, *in Pandect. Numeri vocabantur cohortes*; and in another place, *numerus et cohors idem est*. According to Vegetius then, a cohort was the tenth part of an auxiliary legion, and an auxiliary legion was a Roman legion of the lower empire; that is, about 6000 men. If then a cohort be the same as *numerus*, then a *numerus* must contain the tenth part of an auxiliary legion. This calculation gives 600 men; consequently the defensores of Overborough consisted of 600 men, supposing the number complete. And to pursue this calculation, this fortress of Bremetonacæ must have 60 barracks or papilios, to lodge this number of soldiers; for Vegetius says, one papilio was to contain ten soldiers, neither is there any difficulty in assigning 60 papilios to that fortress; for as much as appears of it now, it must have been a very large one. This fortress of Bremetonacæ continued in possession of a Roman garrison as long as any one station in Britain; and I date the continuance of it in the following manner. Bre-

metonacæ was erected by Julius Agricola, A. D. 79. The same station was in possession of a garrison till the year when the Romans abandoned Briton, which account I collect from circumstances in the book of the *Notitia*. The year in or about which the Romans departed out of Britain, is fixed about A. D. 446, by the best authorities; therefore 79 from 446, there remain 367, by which calculation it appears, that Bremetonacæ was in the possession of the Romans for the space of 367 years; and it is now 1371 years since the Romans abandoned it.

Having now finished my account of old Bremetonacæ, I shall in the next place give a description of as many monuments of antiquity, as I have discovered in and about the ruins of this ancient, and once famous station fixed at Overborough.

CHAP. XII.

CONCERNING THE IDOL MOGON, TUTELAR DEITY OF THE
BRITONS OF OVERBOROUGH.

That Mogon was the idol which the Britons inhabitants of Overborough worshipped, I have lately discovered, by finding the very altar dedicated to Mogon, and his name inscribed on

it, and on which offerings were made to that idol. I shall now trace out the pedigree of the idol Mogon, and give an account how this idol was introduced among the Britons. I find the god Mogon one of the idols mentioned in the Old Testament; hence it appears, that the Britons of Overborough, before the light of the gospel shone in this island, worshipped the same idol that is mentioned in the book of Numbers, and which the old Canaanites, who inhabited the Holy Land, did once worship. But before I proceed any further in asserting so seeming improbable a truth, I expect to be called upon, to produce my vouchers. The learned Samms is my authority; this gentleman, after taking a deal of pains about proving the original introduction of the idols of Britain, says thus; “the god Magon or Mogon seems to be brought into Britain by the Phœnicians, i. e. the old Canaanites, and in all probability may be the god of the Canaanites, Baal Magon, the lord Magon. For as from dag a fish, the Philistines made their idol Dagon; so this idol of the sun, from the melting quality that planet hath, might from Mag, which signifies to melt, be called Magon; and that this Magon, a god of the Britons, was the sun, and so consequently

of Phœnician extraction, this addition of Cad seems to verify. Cad in the Phœnician dialect signifies *only*." Thus far Samms in his *Britannia* concerning the idol Mogon.

I shall now shew where this idol is mentioned in the Old Testament. In the 32d chap. of the book of Numbers, and 38th verse. "The children of Reuben built Nebi and Baal Magon." That Magon signifies the sun, Mr. Samms in the quotation above, has told us. That the sun was worshipped, and under different names, by the idolatrous nations round the holy land, Junius and Tremellius in their notes upon the Old Testament have sufficiently proved. The Babylonians worshipped the sun under the name of Bell; the Persians under the name of Mithras; the Assyrians under the name of Osiris; the Egyptians under the name of Orus; the Canaanites under the name of Baal Magon; and the Britons of Overborough under the name of Mogon. That the idolatrous Israelites worshipped the sun, is plain from several instances of the holy scriptures. St. Stephen told the Jews, Acts, chap. 7. "Ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan." By the star of the god Remphan is to be understood the sun, which

the idolatrous Israelites worshipped. That the Britons worshipped the idols of the Old Testament, may be collected from the prayer of Boadicea queen of the Britons, when she began that famous battle with the Romans; she prayed thus; "O Astarte, protectress of woman, I invoke thee." This goddess Astarte is the very same idol, which king Solomon, in his dotage, and his wives worshipped, which idol the Holy Scriptures call Ashteroth, the abomination of the Sidonians. That the Phœnicians have left behind them tokens or memorials of their being in Britain, several instances prove. There are two rivers in Lancashire, which have both Phœnician names; Ribble and Lune. Ribble was called Belisama, a Phœnician word signifying Venus in the waters. Both rivers were probably worshipped by the Britons. Now comes on the difficulty, to give an account, which way Mogan and Ashteroth, as well as other idols of Phœnicia and the holy land, came into Britain; which difficulty I solve thus: Strabo in his third book of geography says, that the Phœnicians in old times, sailed through the straits of Gibraltar, and maintained a commerce with the inhabitants of the Casseterides islands. But where lay the Casseterides? Strabo says they

lay between Spain and Britain, but near to Britain. Now it's certain, there are no islands that have this situation but only the Scilly islands, by Cornwall; so that these Casseterides of Strabo must be none else but the Scilly islands by Cornwall. Strabo says, the merchandize of these islands was tin, so called from *Κασσεταιίδες* tin. This confirms my supposition, because the Romans took these isles in after-ages, and had their tin from Cornwall and these isles, to which places the Romans banished malefactors or condemned persons. If the Phœnicians therefore traded with the Britons for tin in old time, (Strabo says in old time, and Strabo himself lived about the time of our blessed Saviour) then these Phœnicians must have had factors in Britain; and these factors must have had families here; and these merchants, factors and their families must have had their idols with them; and by degrees these idols of Phœnicia must have come to be worshipped by the Britons. Stillingfleet proves the matter beyond all denial, that the Phœnicians and old Britons held commerce one with another. There is a text in Scripture, which runs in my mind, and in my opinion tends very much to prove

what I have been advancing. The prophet Ezekiel, in the 27th chap. and 12th verse; whilst he is thundering out destruction to the city of Tyre in Phœnicia, which city in Ezekiel's time, i. e. about 575 years before Christ's time, was a city of the greatest merchandize in the world, speaks thus to her: "they of Tarshish were thy merchants for the multitude of all riches, for tin which they brought to thy fairs." They of Tarshish, that is, the Cilicians, neighbours to the Tyrians, according to Junius and Tremellius, brought tin to the city of Tyre. I ask, where did this tin come from, in the prophet Ezekiel's time? where do we read of any tin in old time in Europe, Asia or Africa, besides the tin of Britain? Hence Strabo illustrates this passage of the prophet Ezekiel, and Ezekiel adds to the authority of Strabo, concerning the Phœnicians trading with the Britons above 2300 years ago for tin; by which means the Phœnicians introduced the worship of Baal Magon, Ashteroth, and other idols of the Old Testament, among the Britons. I must not omit Mr. Camden's account of the idol Magon. There is a town in Northumberland called Risingham, where this idol Magon was wor-

shipped in old time. The inhabitants had the history handed down to them by tradition; and they told Camden, their god Mogon defended Risingham a long time against a Soldan, or Pagan prince, who laid siege to it.

CHAP. XIII.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ALTAR OF MOGON LATELY DISCOVERED AT OVERBOROUGH.

Whilst I was hunting after antiquities round old Bretonacæ, by chance I got a glimpse of old Mogon. There's an old building, the stones of which whilst I carefully surveyed, I spied Mogon's altar. And here I take an opportunity, to make my acknowledgments to Nicholas Fenwick, Esq.; by whose interest the wall was ordered to be taken down, and the altar put in my possession. This altar I take to be about 1600 years old, i. e. almost as ancient as Bretonacæ itself. My reason is this:—

Complication of letters upon stone inscriptions came not into use till Commodus's reign, says Horsley. Those inscriptions that bear date in Hadrian's and Antoninus Pius's reign,

have no complication of letters, (by complication of letters I mean when one cypher stands for several letters) according to this rule, the letters upon this altar, having no complication in them, prove the altar as old as Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. Hadrian began to reign A. D. 117. This altar was dedicated to the idol Mogon by a Roman lady upon the recovery of her health, according to my interpretation of the inscription upon it. It was the custom of the Romans, when they had conquered a country, to adopt the tutelary gods of that country among their own. For which reason, when the Romans had subdued the western Brigantes, the god Mogon came to be worshipped by the Romans, And this altar, which was dedicated by a Roman to the idol Mogon, is a most certain proof, that Mogon was the tutelar deity of the Britons of Overborough. The Roman lady Atta, being recovered of her health, returned thanks to Mogon, who was the sun, or Apollo, the god of physick or health. See table the fourth, figure the first, which represents the face of the altar, and hath this inscription,

DEO. SA	} which I read out at length thus	{	DEO Sancto
MGONT			MOGONTI
REBIVAT			REsituta Bonæ I am Valetudini AT
TAPOSV			TA POSuit Votum.

The third line is exceeding obscure ; now I regret the loss of Mr. Horsley, that learned clergyman who was the best interpreter of altars and inscriptions of any man in Britain ; of whom I was about to desire an explanation of the third line, but have now heard he is lately dead ; so I am obliged to read the third line as well as my poor skill will permit me. The reason why I read the third line as above, is, because Mogon upon another altar is called *Vitæ restitutor*, as he was the sun or god of health.

FIG. II. and III.—Represent the two Utensils on the left side of Mogon's altar, which are sacrificing utensils or instruments. These are carved in a very large *relievo*.—Fig. ii. is a *securis*, with which the priest knocked down the animal which was to be the victim.—Fig. iii. is the *secespita* or sacrificing knife, with which the priest cut the victim to pieces, and distributed the flesh according to the rites proper to this idol. Some pieces the priest dedicated to Mogon's altar, other pieces he reserved for himself and regaled with them.

FIG. IV.—Represents the right side of Mogon's altar. What to make of this figure I cannot tell ; to me it appears the portraiture of an owl ; but why an owl upon Mogon's altar ?

If Mogon be the same idol with Moloch so often mentioned in the Old Testament, then turtle doves were sacred to Mogon, for they were sacred to Moloch. But then this figure has no resemblance of a turtle, but of an owl it certainly has, in my opinion; but I can give no reason, why the Britons should consecrate the owl to Mogon or the sun, except these two will be admitted as reasons. First, the owls pay a sort of religion or veneration to the sun, because it is the nature of that bird, never to stir abroad while the sun shines. Secondly, the sun was called Apollo Smintheus by the ancients, that is, Apollo the mouse-catcher; now the owl above all birds, in imitation of Apollo, is a most notable mouse-catcher.

FIG. V.—Denotes the *focus*, *thuribulum*, or top of the altar. The *focus* of altars is not always in the same shape. The *focus* of some is round, of others an oblong square. Those altars among the ancients, that were consecrated for no other use but to offer prayers upon, have no *focus* at all.

CHAP. XIV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BULLA AUREA FOUND IN THE
FORTRESS OF OVERBOROUGH.

This *aurea bulla* was found in the fortress by Miss Fenwick, and is represented by Fig. vi. The *bulla aurea* of the Romans was a sort of hollow ball of pure gold hanging about the neck, in which was inclosed some sacred amulet or preservative against envy. The *aurea bulla* was only wore by noblemen's children among the Romans. The reason of the young noblemen carrying the *prætecta* and *aurea bulla* is delivered in this manner. The *aurea bulla* being shaped like a heart, might as often as they looked upon it be no inconsiderable incitement to courage; and the purple of the gown might remind them of the modesty that became them at that age, says Kennet.

This *bulla aurea* might be lost by some young patrician, learning the art of war under the Proprætor of Britain, whilst he lodged with the Proprætor in his *prætorium*; for the young noblemen lodged with the Proprætor, whilst they were under martial discipline. Hence comes that phrase in classic authors, for instance; Julius Cæsar (says Suetonius) *prima stipendia fecit*

Marci Thermi contubernio. The young noblemen lodged with the general in the same pavilion or *prætorium*. And this *bullæ* was found near the *prætorium* at Overborough. This *bullæ* might be lost by a young patrician, whilst he was attending the emperor, lodging in the fortress of Bremetonacæ. Three Roman emperors have lodged at Overborough, which I thus prove. Septimius Severus, when he came into Britain, left his son Geta at Chester, to take care of affairs in that part of Britain; after which Severus himself marched directly to his legions in Scotland. Now there was no way for Severus to march into Scotland, besides the grand military way which Agricola had laid, and on which Agricola's fortresses did stand; neither were there any places to lodge at, besides the fortresses, it being a day's journey for Severus and his retinue between Coccium and Bremetonacæ, the fortresses being always the places of lodging for the emperors when they travelled. Antoninus Caracalla marched also this way into Scotland; and Geta, Severus's younger son, followed his father into Scotland upon the same grand military road; which sufficiently proves that three Roman emperors have lodged at Overborough, when probably this *Bullæ aurea* was lost.

CHAP. XV.

ACCOUNT OF A PATERA AND PRÆFERICULUM FOUND
BY DIGGING WITHIN THE FORTRESS.

The *patera*, which was found at Overborough, was an indifferent broad, but shallow, platter of pot metal, or rather of common baked clay. The vessels which the Romans made of clay are most easily distinguishable from our modern ones; for those Roman urns and *pateræ*, that I have seen, are always of common clay, and look like our bricks for colour and matter.

FIG. VII.—Represents the *patera* in the fortress. The priest or sacrificer held his *patera* in one hand, whilst he poured the wine out of the *præfericulum* into this platter with the other; after which the sacrificer threw the wine out of his platter, part upon the altar; the rest he sprinkled between the horns of the beast that was to be sacrificed. Hence Virgil,

Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
Caudentis vaccæ media inter cornua fundit.

FIG. VIII.—Represents the *præfericulum*, which was found deep in digging the cellars of Mr. Fenwick's house. This sacred utensil of the old Romans happened to be broke by the

pick-axe, the fragments of which I have by me. This jug is called by antiquarians sometimes *præfericulum*, sometimes *guttus*, and sometimes *uroeus*. I observe the mouth of this vessel differs, for some are round, others peaked; this which I have is peaked, (see Fig. viii.) The use of this vessel was to bring wine to the sacrifice, and out of this the wine was poured into the *patera*. When the utensils of a sacrifice are struck upon a medal, I observe the figure of the *præfericulum* is always the same.

CHAP. XVI.

AN ACCOUNT OF A PLINY'S DRUIDIS INSIGNE FOUND
BY THE MILITARY WAY LEADING TO
OVERBOROUGH.

Pliny in his 29th book and third chapter of his Natural History calls this glass bead by the name of *Druidis insigne*. The people of Wales call these beads **Glen Adoreth**, two British words signifying the jewel of a serpent, in English a Druid amulet.

The bead which I have by me, and which was found by the military way leading to Overbrough, is an inch broad, it has a large perforation; the matter it is made of is a dark purple

glass, waved round with a white serpentine line; see FIG. ix.

These Druid amulets are to be found in Wales and the highlands of Scotland, because the Druid priests inhabited Wales and Scotland a long time after the Saxons had driven the Britons into these countries. The common people of Wales are of opinion to this day, that whoever finds any of these Druid amulets, and wears it about him, will be fortunate in all his actions. This piece of superstition had got amongst the Romans themselves, after they became acquainted with the Druids of Britain and Gaul. The Romans believed, that he who wore a glass bead made and consecrated by a Druid priest, would be fortunate in two things according to Pliny, *Ad victorias litium et aditus regum Druidis insigne mire laudatur.* Which words, if I understand them right, he who wears a Druid amulet shall gain the victory at lawsuits, and also be very fortunate in court-preferments. The same author tells a remarkable story of a Roman knight, who attending a lawsuit which he had upon his hands, and wearing a Druid amulet in his bosom, was put to death by the emperor Claudius for this piece of superstition, for no other reason could be assigned for

that emperor's displeasure against the knight. *Insigne Druidis tantæ vanitatis, ut habentem in lite in sinu Romanum equitem e Vecontis a Divo Claudio principe interemptum, non ob aliud sciam;* says Pliny in his 29th book. So that this poor knight got no court-preferment by wearing a Druid amulet in his bosom.

The Druids of Britain were not only famous for these amulets, but Britain itself was noted for several other curiosities of this nature. Solinus observes, that the Britons were very nice about their sword handles; "The Britons (says he) adorn their sword hilts with the teeth of sea fishes, i. e. they stud them so curiously, that they make these teeth polish as white as ivory." Strabo in his geography of Britain takes notice of the fine bridles, which the horses of the Britons wore, and calls these bridles *ελεφαντινα φαλια*, which two words perplex the critics, but they are interpreted ornaments for horses' heads studded with fish bones. As Britain has always been famous for breeding horses, it's natural to suppose, the old Britons must be nice in their trappings and caparisoning of them. Though Strabo takes notice of the ornaments and beads, with which the Britons adorned their horses; yet I cannot find, that he takes notice of the

horses themselves. But the British dogs that author particularly remarks upon. Dion Cassius has left us an account of the British horses, but then they are only the Scotch galloways, which that grave historian seems to admire so much. There's a breed of horses, says Dion, among the Caledonians, which though they are little ones, yet they are the activest, nimblest and surest of foot that can be. As the old Britons made great use of horses in war, so we find they were nice about their harness; for the old Britons fought upon *essedæ* or cars, as the heroes of Greece did in old time. Read Cæsar's and Tacitus's account of an old Briton fighting upon his car, then read Homer's account of an old Græcian fighting upon his car at the war of Troy, and a wonderful resemblance there is between them as well for activity as valour. To confirm this observation of mine, Diodorus Siculus says, that the Britons live as people did in old time, and they fight upon chariots, as the heroes of Greece did at the Trojan wars. But to return to my Druid amulet, from which Strabo and Solinus have drawn me, by looking among the necklaces, amber and glass, which these authors mention to have been worked in Britain, where I hoped to find an account of my Druid

amulet. Morton in his *Natural History of Northamptonshire*, mentions a Druid bead, which he found, and supposes his bead to belong to that kind of ware, which the Britons exported to Gaul, which Strabo says, were *Elephantina Phalia*, and necklaces, and amber, and glass ware. But Isaac Casaubon flatly denies what Strabo affirms, for no other reason, as I imagine, but that Isaac being a Gaul himself, thought it was an affront to his ancestors the old Gauls, to buy such trumpery as polished fish bones, beads, and Druid amulets of the Britons, and to give their valuable wares for these trinkets of the old Britons. But would old Isaac pretend, that the Gauls were as polite a people as the old Britons. I would not have Isaac so vain, as to imagine so. Well, since Isaac Casaubon and I are both prejudiced, each in behalf of our own countrymen, we will refer this dispute to Julius Cæsar and Julius Agricola, whether the old Gauls or old Britons were a more polite people. Cæsar in his *Commentaries* remarks, that when the Gauls desired to be thoroughly instructed in religion, they came pupils to the Druids in Britain. How favours old Isaac this? According to Cæsar, Britain was to Gaul, what Athens was to Rome, a place of education for the young Gauls,

where they were to commence clergy Druids.

Julius Agricola was a competent judge of the natural abilities of both the Britons and Gauls; yet Agricola preferred the natural genius of the Britons, that is, of the western Brigantes, before that of the Gauls; because, says Tacitus, the Britons were enamoured of the Roman language, whereas the Gauls had refused to learn it.

CHAP. XVII.

AN ACCOUNT OF A STYLUS, GRAPHIUM, OR COPPER WRITING PEN, TAKEN OUT OF AN URN BY THE MILITARY WAY LEADING TO BREMETONACE.

Sir John Clerk, in a little treatise *de stylis veterum*, has given a curious account of the *stylus*, *graphium*, or writing-pen of the Romans. His was found in Scotland among the Roman monuments there. Sir John's description tallies so much with that which I took out of an urn, which was deposited in a Roman burying-place; by the grand military way leading to Overborough, that I have concluded mine a *stylus* also. Sir John Clerk observes, that these pens of the ancients were of gold, silver, brass, iron, the shape various, but always pointed at one end, flat and broad like a surgeon's *spatula*, at the

other. This which I have by me is so. See Fig. x. The *stylus* of bone was for women and children, the *stylus* of iron was used sometimes as a dagger. Suetonius says, that Julius Cæsar wounded Cassius in his arm *graphio*. The same author observes, that it was usual with Caligula, to get his enemies murdered *graphio*. Cassianus the martyr was murdered by his scholars with iron *styli*. Military men wrote with the point of their daggers. Hence *stylus* and *pugio* came to be confounded. From the *stylus* used to make letters with, came the phrase, such and such an author uses such and such style, to denote his manner of expression; or such an author is master of a fine pen. Our next enquiry must be, what it was that the *stylus* writ upon. And the thing which the *stylus* writ on was called *pugillaris*, made of wood or ivory, or skins covered over with wax; so that the *stylus* engraved the letters in the wax; and when the writer blotted out any thing, he took the flat end of the *stylus*, and rubbed the letters out, by smoothing the wax. Hence that expression in Horace is explained, *stylum vertere*, i. e. to blot out what was written. Sometimes these *pugillares* were of gold, silver, brass, or lead, without wax; then there was a necessity of an iron

stylus, to cut the letters upon such *pugillares* as these. Hence we come to a clear idea of that expression of Job, chap. xix. ver. 23. "O that my words were now written. O that they were written in a book; and graven with an iron pen in lead or in stone for ever." But here it must be noted, that the ancients writ upon parchment with ink, as we do; their pen was then made of a reed, which grew upon the river Nile; and their paper was also made of the skins of the *papyrus*; another reed which grew upon the Nile also. The ink of the ancients was of several colours beside black: the Roman emperors wrote with crimson or scarlet ink, made of the blood of the shell-fish called *murex* or *purpura*, or rather of the liquor of the *purpura* boiled; so that when we meet with *purpura* in classic authors, we must not interpret it purple, but crimson or scarlet, which was the colour of the blood of the fish *murex* or *purpura*, which was scarlet in perfection. This colour was so admired by the poets, that whatever was bright and fine they called crimson; as Horace calls the swan, which was always white, *purpureis ales oloribus*. These remarks not only bring to my mind, but also make me admire, the divine harmony of the four Evangelists, who have mentioned the colour of

scarlet by three synonymous expressions. St. Matthew and St. John say, "that the soldiers clothed our Blessed Saviour in a scarlet robe." St. Mark says, it was a purple robe; and St. Luke says it was a white robe. Now the robe was certainly scarlet: so that St. Mark's phrase elegantly refers to the scarlet of the purple fish, and St. Luke's phrase *εσθητα λαμπραν* signifies a splendid robe, such as kings wore, of scarlet; which words of St. Luke have great injury done them, by being rendered in our old English translation a white garment.

FIGS. XI. XII. XIII.—Are the urns, in which was found the Roman *stylus*. These three urns were deposited in a Roman *tumulus* near the military way. This *tumulus* was an exact circle, ten yards diameter, and one yard deep, of small stones equal with the surface of the ground about it; and these three urns were deposited under the stones.

CHAP. XVIII.

A MEDAL OF FLAVIUS VESPASIAN, BY WHICH I ENDEAVOUR
TO PROVE THE DATE OF THE ANTIQUITY
OF BREMETONACE.

From this copper medal, found deep in the fortress, already mentioned in the fifth chapter; I have endeavoured to prove, that the station of

Overborough was erected by Julius Agricola in the same year that this medal bears date ; viz. 79, when Flavius Vespasian was consul the eighth time ; and this medal, added to my interpretation of Tacitus, chap. 20. of Agricola's life, very much supports my account of the year and Proprætor, when and who, erected the stations in Lancashire.

. FIG. XIV.—Is Flavius Vespasian's copper medal.

. FIG. XV.—A fragment of an altar dedicated to a Roman god in a wall at Overborough, but as it has no letters inscribed on it, it puts a stop to our further enquiry, only a centurial mark seems to be carved on it.

THE END.





□ LONGOVICUS.
(Lancaster.)

□ ARBIA.
(Moresby.)

□ VIROSIDUM.
(Elenborough.)

□ OLENACUM.
(Old Carlisle.)

□ BREMETENRACUM.
(Old Penrith.)

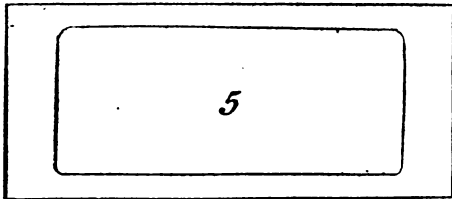
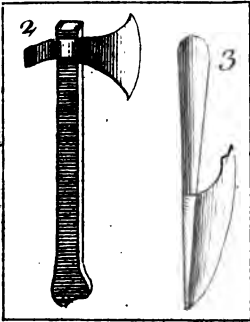
□ DICTIS.
(Ambleside.)

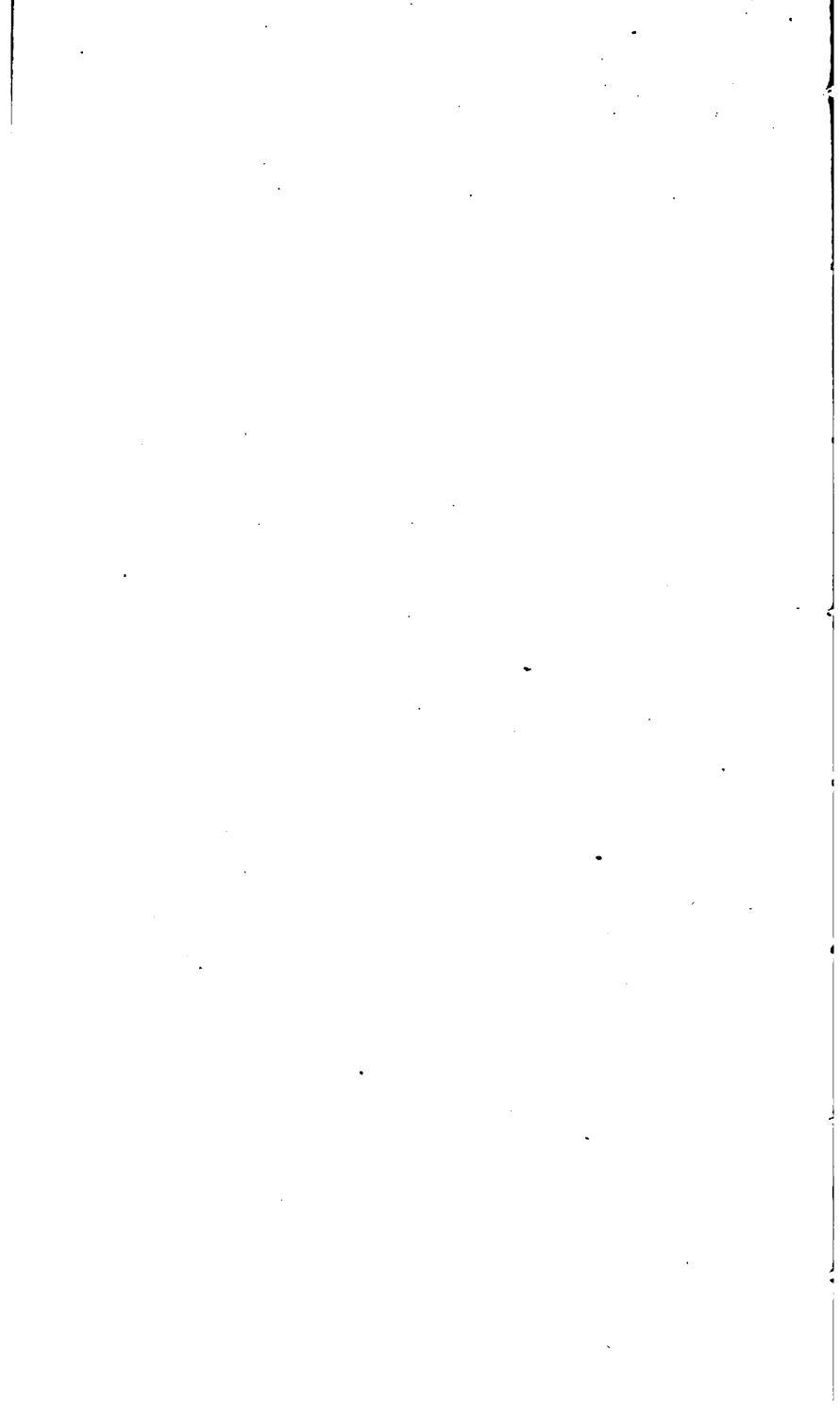
□ ALONE.
(Whitley Castle.)

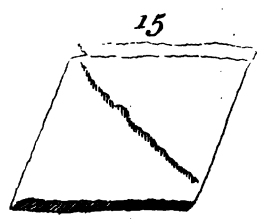
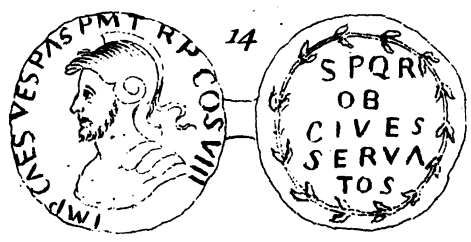
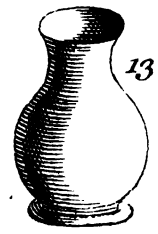
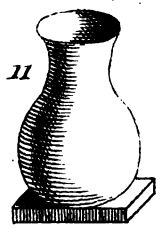
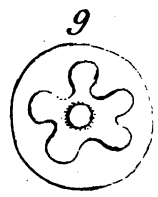
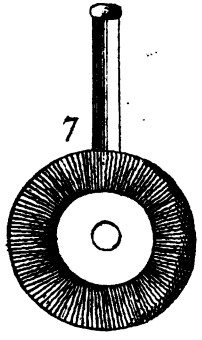
□ BREMETONACE.
● bertborough.
● CONCANGIUM.
(Kendal.)

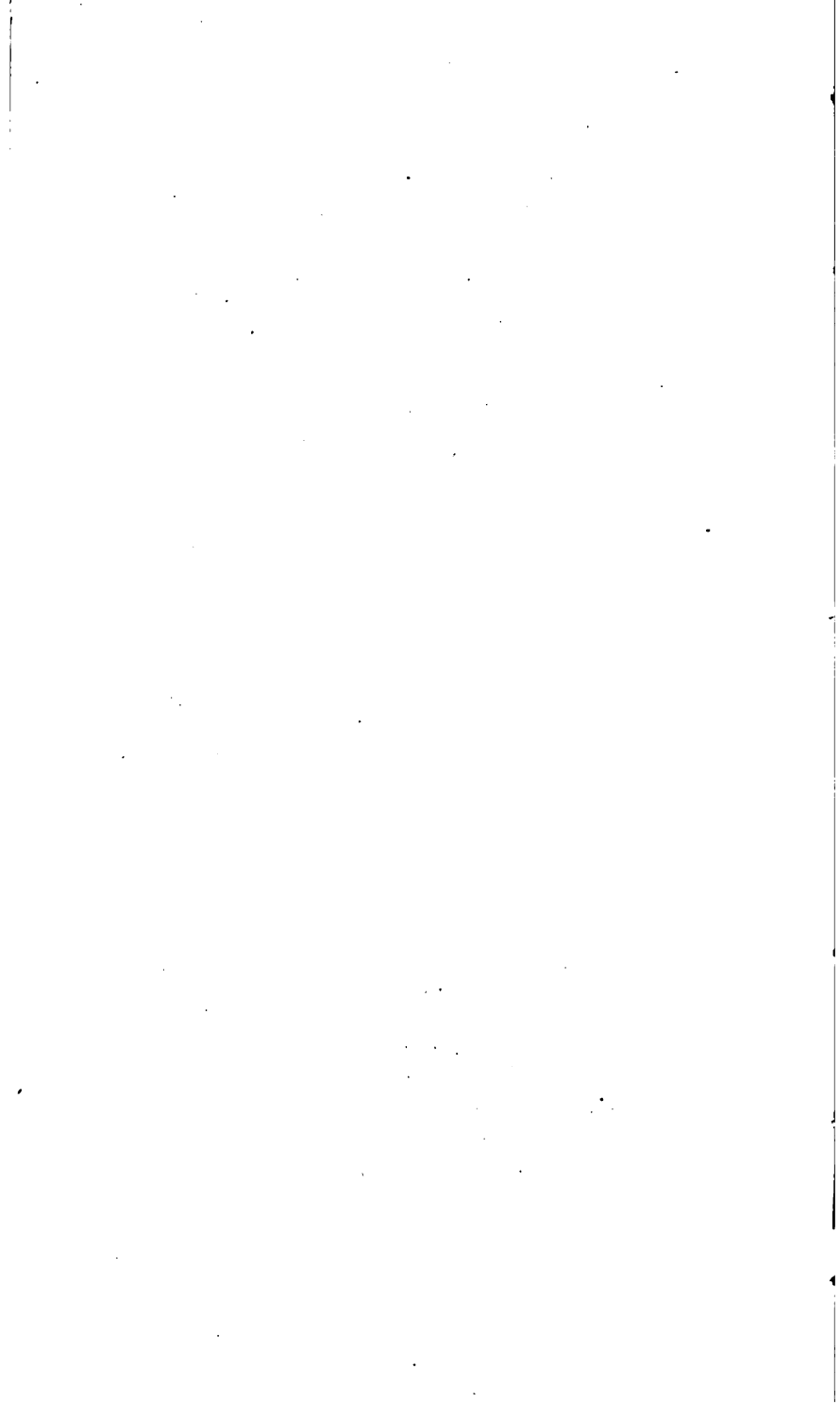
Map of the Garrisons.

Fig: 1.









THE
APPENDIX.



THE APPENDIX.

No. I.

*Account of Overborough, extracted from Dr. WHITAKER'S
History of Richmondshire.*

The parish of Tunstall is memorable for the Roman station of BREMETONACÆ. Traversing the district in the very infancy of research into Roman antiquities, Leland discovered the remains and the tradition of an ancient city at Overborough, without even a conjecture at its ancient name.

“Burrow, now a village set in Lamesdale, vi myles beneath the foote of Dentdale, hath been by lykelihood some notable towne. The ploughmenne find there yn lapides quadratos, and many other strang thinges, and this place is much spoken of by the inhabitants there.”

Thus slightly is the subject dismissed by Leland, without enquiry, and almost without observation. But I am not sure that he had ever seen Antonine's Itinerary; at all events, the merit of accurate investigation and actual reasoning on the Roman antiquities of Britain is in no degree shared with Camden by the elder antiquary. Even Camden, who had better helps than Leland, was long in uncertainty on the subject; for in his third edition of 1590, we find a continuation of the error with which we set out, that Ribchester was the Bremetonacæ of Antonine; and from the imaginary resemblance of Lac which runs by Overborough, that this was the Roman Galacum,

Hitherto we see that the father of antiquities was in total darkness, which led him to fix the site of Coccium far too near Mancunium, and in a place where there were no vestiges of Roman antiquity; while he violently transferred Bremetonacæ to Ribchester, and, from a mere resemblance of name, which seems to have been

the parent of all these errors, Galacum to Overborough. In this delusion, however, Camden did not die; for in the folio of the Britannia, (A. D. 1607) this opinion is altered for the better, as follows :

Quo in loco nunc Overburrow est, pertennis sane rusticorum viculus, quem urbem magnam fuisse, amplosque campos inter Lacum et Lonum occupasse, et ad extrema deditiois, fame nihil non experta compulsam nobis memorarunt incolæ, quod a majoribus, quasi per manus traditum acceperunt.

Et variis certe priscae vetustatis monumentis, inscriptis lapidibus, tessellatis pavementis Romanorum nummis, et nomine hoc novo, quod nobis burgam denotat, locus iste antiquitatem suam asserit. Nomen vero antiquum si recuperet alius non mihi debeat esti ut formicæ semitas anxia sedulitate quæsi, nec est cur quis putet singulorum in Britannia oppidorum nomina sigillatim, in Ptolomæo, Antonino, Provinciarum notitia et classicis auctoribus annotari.

Si tamen conjecturæ sit locus, BREMETONACVM, quod aliud fuisse a BREMENTVRACO vere iudicat Hieronymus Surita Hispanus in suis ad Antoninum notis ex distantie ratione a Coccio vel Ribblechester libenter opinarer.

This last conjecture of Camden, at which it is very wonderful that he should have been so long in arriving, has left from that time to this the modern Overborough in undisputed possession of its claim to be the Bremetonacum of Antonine. With respect to the monuments of antiquity with which the place appears at that time to have abounded, and especially with respect to inscriptions, as Camden has specified none, it might have been supposed that he had taken the whole upon trust, had it not been known that he had twice visited the place, and that he seldom visited any place without making good use of his own eyes. From that time to the earlier part of the last century, little attention seems to have been paid to the place, and no discoveries were made. But at that time Mr. Fenwick, the proprietor, attracted by the beauty and fertility of the site, began to build an excellent house and extensive offices on the very site of the Roman castrum; and was fortunate that an intelligent and observing clergyman of the neighbourhood was frequently a guest, and almost an inmate in his family. He

watched the levelling of the ground, previously to the foundation being laid, and afterwards the smoothing of the lawn in front, with curious and critical eyes, but his experience in Roman antiquities was not equal to his zeal, and his imagination often got the better of his judgment. But the opportunities of observation which he possessed gave birth to a small quarto, entitled “*Antiquitates Bremetonacenses* ;” in which he has with great fidelity recorded all that he had seen in the progress of his patron’s improvements, and much that he conjectured as to the state of the place under its Roman masters.

With Rauthmell’s arguments, which are often hypothetical and inconclusive, I shall not interfere, thankfully availing myself of his facts. To his accurate and repeated researches we are indebted for the first clear account of the Roman road from Coccium to Bremetonacæ, one of the most rugged and difficult stages in Britain; and for that reason, as I have elsewhere shewn, probably abandoned during the lower empire for the longer and more practicable line through the low country and by Lancaster. This discovery our antiquary somewhat ostentatiously displays in the following passage, to which I must premise that Mr. Horseley had previously given up the point, and confessed his ignorance on the subject:.....

Mr. Horseley adds, that he knew not the measure or computation of miles between Overborough and Ribchester, with which any common map of the county might have furnished him. In the next place the historian of Overborough thus triumphantly begins his story :*.....

This account has lately been confirmed by laying open another portion of the same road, about eighty yards in length, on the estate of Knolmere, which led to an obser-

* For the extract which Whitaker here gives from Rauthmell, *vide* page 20 of this Work, commencing “this Roman way begins at the fortress of Ribchester,” &c.

vation neglected by Rauthmel, namely, that the pavement had no marks of wheels, and consequently that no carriages had ever been used upon it. Another remark upon the wisdom of the Romans in the construction of their military ways, which Rauthmel has justly adverted to, might have been made on the width of this, which, though merely intended for the march of cavalry, with their baggage carried on horseback, was full seven yards. But Agricola, who was unquestionably the first layer out of this rugged way, was perfectly aware, that in an enemy's country, and in the constant risk of attack, it was of great importance to march in broad columns, which, by facing to right or left, and keeping their station on the line of the road, would present a deep and strong file to an enemy.

The stage immediately north of Overborough has not been equally fortunate with that on the south; and after all the improvements which have been made in the topography of Roman Britain, has been left in all the uncertainty of conjecture and hypothesis.

To state this subject properly it will be necessary to begin with that part of Antonine's tenth Iter which relates to these stages:

Iter X.

A Glanoventa Mediolanum M. P. CL

Galava M. P. XVIII

Alone M. P. XII

Galacum M. P. XIX

BREMETO } M. P. XXVII
NACIS }

Coccio M. P. XX

Mancunio M. P. XVII

Of these Glanoventa, Galava, Alone, Galacum, are quite uncertain; while Bretonacæ, Coccium, and Mancunium, are placed beyond all doubt. The progress of the Iter is southward, but it will be convenient for our

argument to invert it. The figures also, which mark the distances from one known station to another, are extremely inaccurate. Thus, from Mancunium to Coccium, instead of seventeen miles you must read twenty-seven; and from Coccium to Bremetonacæ, instead of twenty, at least thirty miles. But this will not interfere with the general sum of the Iter, which is a hundred and fifty miles, and with which the present numbers agree so nearly (making in the whole a hundred and forty-nine miles) as to shew that on the whole they have only been transposed. We may therefore go on by subtracting ten from the distance between Bremetonacæ and Galacum, an unknown and hitherto misplaced station, which will leave seventeen. But this will remove Galacum from Appleby, with which, according to the number of the Itinerary, the distance really agrees. This, I confess, is to me no objection. Appleby, to which, by the consent perhaps of most of our antiquaries the Roman Galacum has been assigned, was no station at all, which is proved, first, by the absence of remains, and, secondly, by the silence of Antonine's Iter, which interposes no station between Verteræ (Brough) and Brocavum (Brougham.) Then again, Appleby is considerably to the right of the line, which, in the laying out of Roman itineraries was always a material object; in addition to all which, the line from Rothay Bridge beneath Sedbergh, unless it had been carried rectilinearly towards Shap, or westward towards Kirkby Stephen, would have been one of the most rugged and impracticable in Roman Britain. But in the direct line from Overborough to Brougham, almost exactly at the distance of seventeen Italian miles from the first, are the evident remains of a station, which yet bears the name of Borough; and if in those deep and cultivated valleys all appearances of a military way have vanished, such negative testimony is not to be weighed both against names and

remains. From this place the road would gently ascend by Tebay and Orton, and then gently fall almost in a right line along the course of the river Livennat to Winfield Park, and thence immediately to Brougham. With the site of Alone on this hypothesis I have no concern. But if, where so much in the numbers is demonstrably wrong, a single transposition in the names be allowed, what can be more probable than that the Alone of this Iter should have originally occupied the place of Galacum, and have denoted its site near the place where Lune actually turns to the east, and forms the boundary of Westmorland and Yorkshire. It follows, therefore, that this Borough is either Galacum or Alone, or that it is wholly unnoticed in the Roman itineraries. No antiquary has hitherto explored the place, and the name alone has hitherto prevented it from being wholly overlooked as a remain of Roman antiquity. This line, moreover, of the tenth Iter of Antonine is easy, pleasant, sheltered, and rectilinear; whereas the way to Appleby is one of the most rugged which Westmorland itself could afford.

With respect to the station of Bremetonacæ and the remains which have been discovered there in the later times, I subjoin the following particulars, either collected from Rauthmel's account of the place, or from my own observations. The situation is precisely such as Agricola, the most skilful of Roman generals, might have been expected to have chosen. The Leck, or Leck Beck, a rapid and stony torrent coming down from the north, makes a sudden curve to the south, and then towards the west, forming a bold precipitous bank which on those two sides has been the boundary of the station. This, which in later days has been planted and adorned with sloping walks, had evidently been formed by Roman hands into a steep and magnificent rampart. From this elevation to the east is a fine view of Ingleborough, of which,

though the present name is purely Saxon, while the two first syllables unquestionably denote a beacon, the two latter evidently point a Roman origin. In the opposite direction, a sloping lawn, descending towards the Lune, formed the area of the station, of which the exact dimensions cannot now be ascertained. It is however highly probable that the line of the road from Lancaster to Kirkby Lonsdale Bridge is precisely that of the Roman *Iter*, and the Roman itinera usually passed through, not beside, their stations. It follows, therefore, that the western boundary of the fortress extended to some distance westward from this road; yet to suppose that it actually stretched to the bank of Lune is to assign a magnitude to *Bremetonacæ* which belonged to none but their great provincial capitals, since from the eastern rampart to the bank of Lune is a distance of at least half a mile. On the north I conceive that the road from Broughton to the ford of Lune pretty nearly ascertains the remaining limit of this station. And here it may be observed, in passing, that the Roman stations in Britain are to be classed as follows: First, the great Romanized capitals of the British tribes, or other foundations of the Romans themselves, which were destined to be garrisoned by a legion each. These appear from their outlines and other remains, to have occupied forty or fifty acres. Next were the ordinary stations of the *Itinerary* or *Notitia*, intended for the reception of a cohort in the first, or, as at *Bremetonacum*, a *numerus* in the second. Now from the absence of all remains at some of these, and the appearances of arts and elegance in others, the first appear to have been mere military posts, while the latter have enjoyed a cultivated and polished population. In the latter division, *Ribchester*, from the elegance and abundance of its remains, stands eminently conspicuous. But beside these frequently appear small outposts, probably thrown up for

temporary purposes, and evidently depending upon some of the former; besides airy and spacious summer camps on the hills, in the outline of which the ordinary forms of Roman castramentation were abandoned; and of these it may be observed, that while they scarcely ever bear the name of castrer or chester, but most commonly that of borough, as contradistinguished from bury; so the castra hiberna or regularly fortified towns frequently, as at Overborough, bear the same appellation without distinction. As therefore the Bremetonacis of Antonine, and the Bremetonracum of the Notitia, was only a station of the second order, the fortress itself must have excluded much of the fertile plain immediately north from the conjunction of the Leck Beck and the Lune, though it may bear a question, whether, though without the walls, these fields may not have been the site of that city, of which tradition spoke with so much uncertainty in the time of Camden and Leland. From the last visit of the second of these antiquaries, who, though he mentions the frequency of inscriptions here, has copied none, for the period nearly of a century and a half, the place lay buried in its own ruins; but, as I have already observed, about the year 1740, Thomas Fenwick, Esquire, having chosen Overborough, for the beauty and fertility of its site, as the place of his future residence, began the foundation of a spacious and excellent house, near the north-eastern point of the Roman fortress; and here it was that the discoveries were made which, though illustrated with no great skill, have been happily preserved by Rauthmel. Of these most important, in an historical view, was a very fair medal of Vespasian of the large brass, sunk deep in the artificial part of the rampart itself; from which our antiquary very properly inferred, that the work must have been nearly contemporary with Vespasian's eighth consulship, which was the date of the coin. It may be found among the Numismata Præstantiora of Vaillant.

The next discovery was a small altar, of which my author has found out that it was dedicated to Mogan, and thence inferred that Mogan was the tutelary deity of Overborough. In order to establish this wild position, Rauthmel thinks proper to read and interpret a pretty fair and intelligible inscription in this marvellous manner:*

It certainly requires some degree of ingenuity to enable a man to be so wonderfully absurd. But Atta, it seems, to our author's certain knowledge, "was a Roman lady, who, being recovered of her health, returned thanks to Mogan, who was the Sun or Apollo, the god of physic or health." But here a difficulty occurred, which was the figure of an owl, on the right side of Mogan's altar. This, to be sure, was a little unlucky, as it drove our critic upon the necessity of accounting for the dedication of a night bird to the Sun.....†

Certainly our author has proved himself a most notable interpreter; but he might have remembered, that, according to this account, Apollo and the owl were rivals in trade, and therefore not very likely to agree. But to be serious, if possible. Supposing this to be a correct representation, for the original is lost, the reading appears to me to be pretty obvious:

DEO SANGO
N(au)lus TREBIUS
ATTA POSuit Votum.

From the form of the characters, this altar was evidently of the lower empire; and, from the smallness of its size, the offering of no wealthy votary. This Sabine god, who had his temple on the Quirinal hill at Rome, was indifferently named Sancus, Sanguis, and Sanctus; and as the ossifrage was especially dedicated to him (Sanguis avis appellatur, quæ in commentariis auguralibus ossifraga dicitur, quia in Sanguis Dei tutela est) it is probable that the figure which Rauthmel took for an owl on this

* *Vide* page 103.

† *Vide* page 104.

altar was in reality the other bird. Deo veteri Sancto is the dedication of another altar given by Horseley, and vowed, as there is every reason to suppose, by a native of that country which was under the immediate protection of this deity. For the same reason, Naulus Trebius Atta must have been a Sabine also. It is curious to observe such vestiges of local attachment and devotion in the legionaries:*

* Dr. Pegge, author of "Anecdotes of Old Times," &c. entertains the same opinion of the erroneousness of Rauthmel's arbitrary interpretation of the inscription on the altar discovered at Overborough. He concludes with the following remarks.

"Setting aside, therefore, all he has amassed together about the God Magon or Mogon, I am entirely for trying a new method of reading and interpreting this inscription; and if I may but be allowed to suppose that the S at the top of the first V, (which I imagine was written thus, V^s) has been either worn out, or overlooked, (which I assure you, was a very easy thing for Mr. Rauthmel to do) the whole will be very natural, plain and easy, when distinguished thus

DEO. SAN
GO. N. TR
EBIV^s. AT
TA. POSV.

That is, in words at length, DEO. SANGO. Numerius. TREBIV^s. ATTA. POSV^s.

"Now in favour of the emendation, I have to observe, that there seems to have been a substantial reason for the alligation of the V and S; for otherwise the name of the votary ATTA could not have been commodiously divided; if the S had been cut at large there could only have been the A in that line.

"This Sangus, or Sancus, for he is written both ways, was originally a Sabine Deity, but afterwards was in great request at Rome. According to Varro, he was the same as Hercules, and consequently was a proper deity for a soldier to honour. He was the principal deity of the Sabines, is mentioned by many authors; but is particularly famous on account of the mistake committed by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and others, in respect of him. The mistake was this, these fathers charged the Romans with dignifying the great impostor, Simon Magus, with a statue and inscription; which statue Justin Martyr says, was erected in the Tiber, between two bridges, and bore this Latin inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. But now, in the year 1574, a stone was dug up in an island of that river, inscribed Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio, &c. from whence it is evi-

The next relic mentioned by Rauthmel was a bulla aurea, found within the precincts of the fortress by Miss Fenwick, and which our antiquary needed not to lay out any portion of his erudition to prove that it had belonged to some young and noble youth, who lost it during his residence in this station. But it is certainly curious, that has been the only specimen of the kind ever discovered, so far as I know, in Britain, though golden bullæ are not very uncommon in Italy.—The two following are a common patera, not, as appears, of the fine Samian ware, but of ordinary baked clay, and a guttus, or præfericulum, the latter of which was discovered in digging the cellars of Mr. Fenwick's house.—Last is one of the *Cluin Neidereth*, or Druid's amulets, found not within the precincts of the station, but somewhere on the road leading to Bremetona-

dent, in the opinion of most, that those fathers misread and misinterpreted this stone, it being the individual stone and inscription which they had beheld.—I do not remember at present to have found any mention of the Trebian family at Rome, but Atta is a legitimate Roman name, as appears from these lines of Horace :

Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Atta
Fabula.—*Hor. ll. Epis. l. 79.*

“This was Titus Quinctius Atta, a comic Poet. The word Atta which was a cognomen also in the Sempronian family, and as appears from this inscription, in the Trebian, signifies, according to Pompeius Festus in Voce, a lame person.

“Amongst the authors that mention the god Sangus, are Paulus and Festus, in the word Sangualis Avis, which they interpret *Ossifraga*, or the Osprey, testifying that this bird was under the protection of Sangus. On one side of the altar in question there is the figure of a bird, which doubtless was intended for the *Sangualis Avis*. Mr. Rauthmel fluctuates strangely about it: first he does not know what to make of it; then he says, it *appears* to him to be the portraiture of an Owl; and afterwards that it certainly has, in his opinion, the resemblance of an Owl. An Owl it is, unquestionably in his type, and the Owl, and not Osprey, was the *Sanqualis* or *Sangualis Avis*, in the opinion of the mason that cut this stone; for it must be remembered, that authors are not well agreed as to the *Sanqualis Avis*. Pliny x. 7. However, that our mason, who intended to exhibit the *Sanqualis Avis*, was mistaken in giving us the Owl for it, I make no manner of doubt.”

cæ; a circular piece of dark purple glass, about an inch in diameter, waved round with a white serpentine line, and perforated in the midst.

These are all the remains which an attentive scrutiny by a very curious man, under very advantageous circumstances, has brought to light. All the originals have perished. Since his time no addition has been made,* nor was likely to be made on the site of a large dwelling house and offices, or beneath the surface of a smooth undisturbed lawn; and I have repeatedly and vainly explored every building and hovel, every wall and loose stone about the place, for an altar, inscription, or fragment; nay, so nearly had the tradition of an ancient city, so rife in the days of Camden and Leland, disappeared in the beginning of the nineteenth century, that a gentleman who inhabited the manor-house, while he very liberally gave me permission to inspect the premises, gravely assured me that he had indeed heard an idle story of some ancient city on the place, but that the whole was a mere invention.

Yet an antiquary musing on this place, where every vestige of Roman antiquity is now so nearly obliterated, may summon before the eye of his imagination, with no unpleasing feelings, Agricola, the founder, Severus, Geta, and Caracalla, all of whom were seen in their several times directing the works of Bremetonacæ, or controlling the legions within them.

* A few years since, a person who was digging in the lawn in front of Burrow Hall, uncovered an earthen vessel, resembling the Roman funeral urn, and containing (as our intelligent informant believes) human ashes. It was unfortunately broken by the spade which disclosed it; but the fragments were preserved by CHRISTOPHER BURROW, Esq. the then occupier of the mansion. Dr. Whitaker about that time visited Burrow; whether those fragments were shewn to him, we do not remember. As he does not mention the circumstance, it is probable that the discovery was made posterior to his investigation.

The Roman Road in the neighbourhood of Overborough.

The author's account of the Roman military way from the ancient boundary of the district of Whalley, and thence to Overborough, we believe to be very imperfect, and, in some instances, incorrect. As we have been at considerable pains in tracing the line within the cultivated grounds between these two places, and in collecting information from the oldest and most intelligent persons in the neighbourhood, we flatter ourselves that the little which we are enabled to lay before the public, if it merit not their full confidence, will, at least, deserve and meet with their indulgence.

Dr. Whitaker, in his history of Whalley, and the author, give the line of the road by the cross at Greet. According to the line of direction which it takes from the neighbourhood of Overborough thitherward, the Cross at Greet appears upwards of two miles more to the east. Now, as we know of no cause, either natural or military, wherefore the Romans should there deviate from their usual straight course, we entertain some suspicion of the correctness of their account: and the more so, as certain very intelligent persons, friends of ours, have traced the road for a considerable distance up Botton-head fell, without meeting with any angle therein to lead to that point. And moreover, a person, who for some years occupied a farm on the other side of the said fell, informed us that the traces of the road which were still there evident, lay in the same line as that which we on this side pointed out to him. However, as we have not yet had an opportunity of inspecting this part of the line, we merely state this as an opinion.

Now, the military way from Coccium towards Bremonæ enters the cultivated ground from the common

upon an estate called Whittera, and takes its direction thence in a straight line to a brook nearly a mile distant. Here, on account of the precipitous bank on the southern side, an angle is formed to cross the brook: which crossed, another angle is formed to lead back again to the same point, and thence it proceeds in a straight line, through an estate called Swanns, to Ivah. With the exception of two or three fields' breadth, this whole length has the agger of 7 yards width visible. From the village Ivah towards Lowgill, all traces of the road were lost, till Mr. A. Court, of the latter place, in draining a moist meadow upon the line of the road, uncovered a considerable extent of it. Parts of two horse shoes were found beneath the pavement which was sunk to the depth of several inches below the surface. These fragments of the shoes were remarkable for nothing but the largeness of the nail-holes, and the narrowness of the curvature. A stone also, which appeared to be but a fragment, with some illigible lines inscribed upon it, was found below the surface; and this fragment, we believe, is still in the possession of Mr. Court. The present road from Lowgill towards Tatham Chapel is upon the site of the Roman way as far as it continues in a straight line: but at the first angle it leaves the Roman way to the left hand. No traces now remain, till you pass the brook which runs past Tatham Chapel, and which the line of the road crosses to the south west, and then, after crossing the present public road, its remains are discovered upon the estate of Knott-hill. Mr. Langstroth of this place kindly uncovered a portion, to shew us the stones and gravel of the substratum. Hence, it continues more or less visible, in a straight line, through the estate of Lower Stockbridge—again crosses the present road towards the Hill estate, and then, as far as we were able to discover, all remains are lost.

Between this point and the Greeta we observed no traces of it, though we proceeded by observation in a

straight line. On the north side of that rivulet, however, we again met with evident traces. It appears to have crossed the Greeta at or near a place where the old inhabitants of the adjoining grounds say were the remains of a bridge. In their remembrance courses of hewn stone on both banks were visible: though nothing now remains, in our opinion, sufficient to warrant any conjecture, what may have been there previously.—In following the line of the Roman way northward, the remains become more and more evident and satisfactory. A little to the west of Scaleber we had the pleasure of observing a part of it turned up by the plough at the time we were making our investigation. Near Collingholme its agger is not merely visible, but prominent and nearly perfect; and continues so for a whole mile. The ground here has never been furrowed by the plough, is moist and sedgy; with the way elevated above its surface more than a yard, and very conspicuous even at a considerable distance on account of its being overgrown with furze. After it has crossed the brook Kant, it appears at some time past, to have been fenced in on both sides. Here its whole breadth, elevation, and even surface, in some places are as perfect as when first formed; and trees of considerable size, and shrubs of a great age are growing and decaying over its whole area. A by-road thence to Overtown corresponds with the line; and traces of the old Roman remains are still peering up through the desolation of the present superior system of road-making. From Overtown we traced it across the Lac-brook, past the farm-house named Gale, to a portion of the highway between Kirkby Lonsdale and Ingleton called the Long-level, which corresponds with the Roman line, and probably continues in present use from its originally being found ready made to the hands of the surveyors, as the highway at each end strikes off, nearly at right angles. The line afterwards corresponds for a considerable distance with Wanderer's

lane in Casterton, and slight remains may be seen on the sides of the fences as far as the first barn upon that road. Beyond this point neither our own eyes nor the tongue of tradition has hitherto been able to lead us to any further discovery.

Now our author brings the way through Bentham (we suppose Lower Bentham,) but meets with no trace, thence towards Overborough, the improved country short of that place he says "had eradicated it." Lower Bentham is not upon the line as we have traced it. Our line, though we observed no remains immediately in the neighbourhood of the place, is more than a hundred yards below the church. We confess we were shewn a road above the church on both sides the Wenning, which, in a perfect state or in the vestiges thereof, we traced to a considerable distance, which was by tradition said and believed to be the Roman way. But that way, scarcely wide enough to admit a fat abbot on mules-back, could not, we think, be made as an iter for Agricola and his legions. Besides, the narrow, low, ill-paved lane (road we will not call it) is as zigzag as the course of lightning in a storm; whereas, as an intelligent farmer observed to us, the Romans were a "straight-forward people, and laid their roads generally in as straight a course as an arrow takes to its goal." This road, however, points to the Cross at Greet, and though principally denominated the Roman road by the peasantry, was in more than one instance styled the Monk's road as well as the Roman; and if our author has depended more upon report than eye-witness in this part of the country, we plainly see the cause of our difference and excuse it.

That "the improved state of the country short of Overborough" has entirely "eradicated the remains" of the Roman military way, our statement above will easily confute. Overtown is about a quarter of a mile, or some-

thing more, directly east of Overborough; and the etymology of the word proves it to have been occupied by the Saxons as well as Overborough, after the departure of the Romans. But whether the place was ever occupied by the Romans, in consequence of the protection afforded the place from its vicinity to their station at Overborough; or, for the very same reason, chosen as a settlement by the Saxons, after the Romans, we presume not to give an opinion. If, however, we might hazard a conjecture, we should be inclined to consider the latter, in consequence of the absence of all remains of antiquity, as more probable. But, to assign a reason why the military way of the Romans led not directly through their station at Overborough, better becomes older and more experienced antiquarians than ourselves. That it was the case here under the lower empire, Dr. Whitaker's account seems to warrant.

Of the remains of antiquity at Overborough nothing now is visible; with the exception of the head of a pillar with a human face sculptured on three of its sides, laying at the door of the gardens, and said to have been dug up at the time the garden-ground was trenched: and a fragment of an elegantly figured stone without any inscription thereon, in the wall of a barn on the road side.

A gentleman in our neighbourhood shewed us what was reported to him by the late — Fenwick, Esq. of Burrow Hall, to be the remains of a road leading from the station directly to the river Lune: where he affirmed was the ground-work of a bridge. Something certainly like a stony agger is visible in that direction, and the dry weather of the season had embrowned the whole surface. At the bottom of the river large blocks of oak may be seen. If this be a Roman way, and there have been a bridge across the river, both have been of the lower empire. And this line of road has branched off to Concan-gios; as the one mentioned by Dr. Whitaker connected Overborough with Longovicum.

No. III.

We are indebted to Dr. Whitaker for the following notice respecting the Author of this Work.

Richard Rauthmel was born in Little Bowland, and baptized at Chipping, where he was also interred. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of A. B. and was afterwards presented to the perpetual curacy of Whitewell, in Bowland, which he held till the time of his death. He is said to have been a lively and entertaining man, which made his company always acceptable at Browsholme and at Burrow, and he well repaid the hospitalities of the latter place by a dedication to his patron, in which, though his style in general was rough and coarse, he touched some topics of adulation with a delicate and skilful hand. Of this talent, as well as of an imagination fired by the visions of antiquity, the following may serve as a specimen.

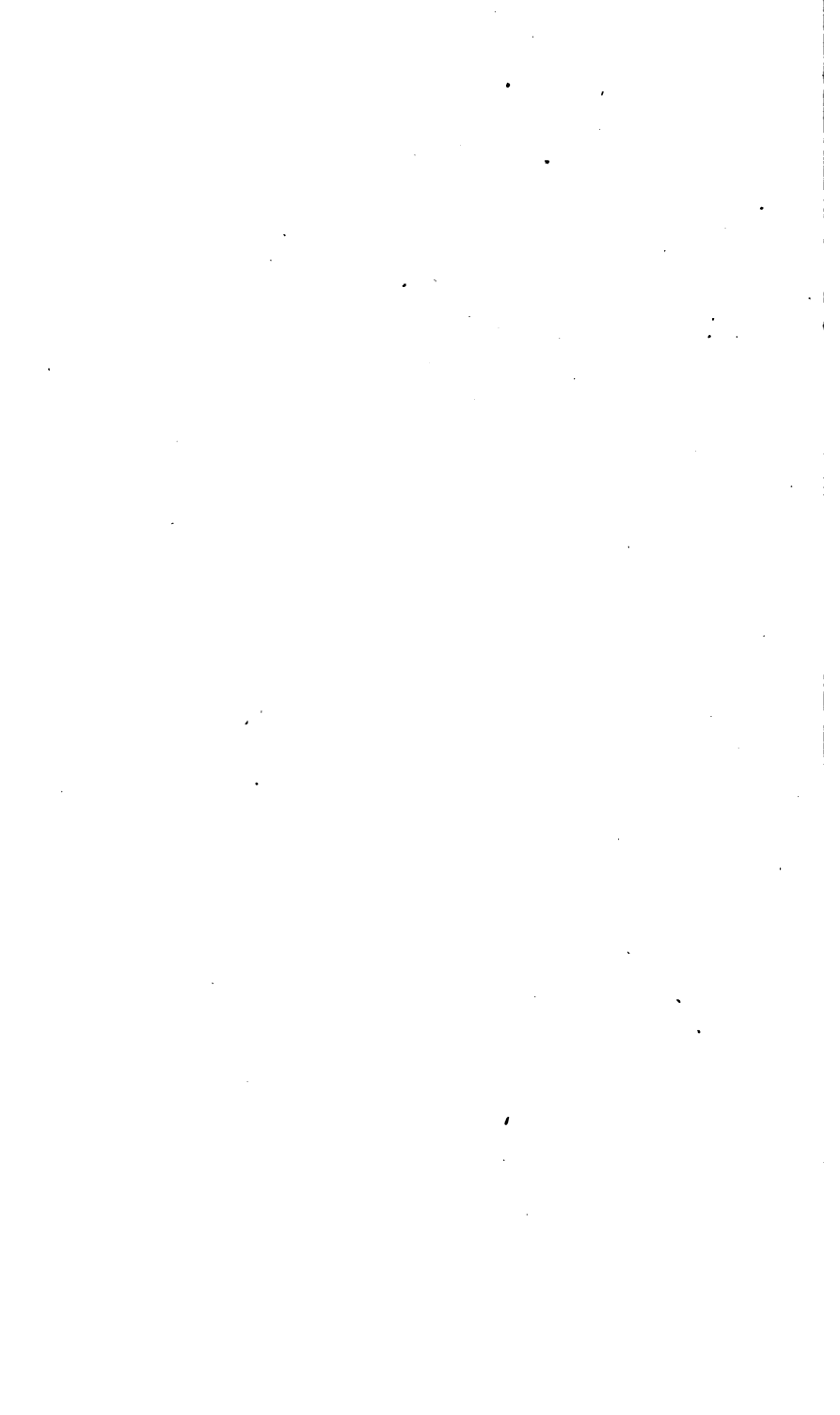
"The different and opposite fates attending this hillock, when I was last at Overborough presented themselves to my imagination. The houses Agricola and Theodosius built at Overborough were designed for the pomp of war, and to be a terror to all around. The house you are building, which discovers elegance without ill judgment, and usefulness without ostentation, is designed for the kind offices of peace and good neighbourhood. To approach this hill in the time of its Roman proprietors, the kindest salutation that could be expected was to be hailed with a javelin from the hand of a jealous Roman; to approach it now, and its proprietor, we may depend upon being highly obliged, either with the kindest acts of friendship, or the most generous offices of humanity."

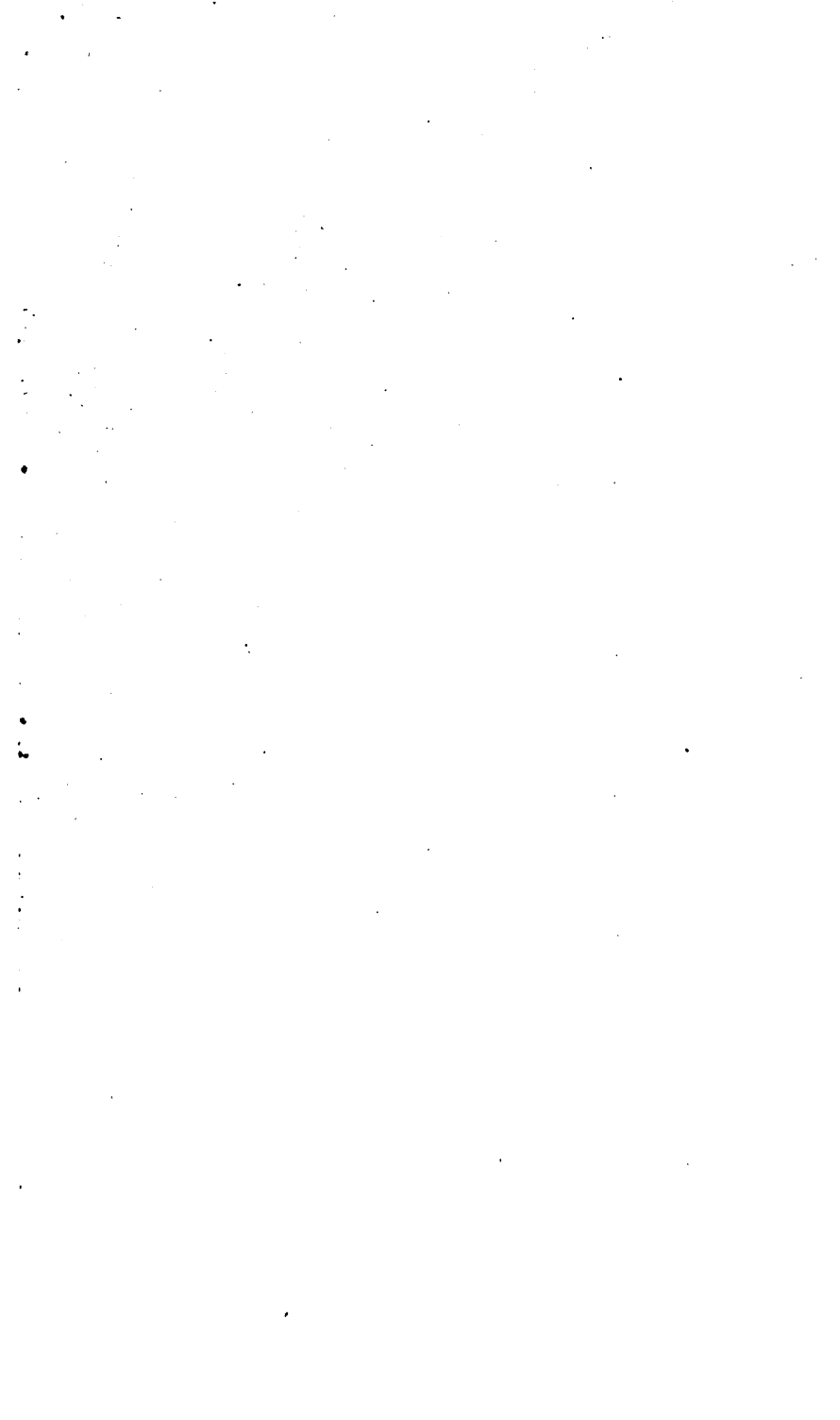
This was a panegyric which well repaid much good cheer, and many a hearty welcome, from the modern owner of Bremetonacæ.

FINIS.

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